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HISTORY OF MEXICO:

CONTINUED FROM

THE CAPTURE OF VERA CRUZ,

TO THE TERMINATION OF THE

WAR WITH THE UNITED STATES.

CONTAINING THE FULL

TREATY OF PEACE, ETC., ETC.

BEING A CONTINUATION OF "YOUNG'S HISTORY OF MEXICO."

BY GEORGE C. FURBER, ESQ.,

AUTHOR OF "TWELVE MONTHS VOLUNTEER."

CINCINNATI:

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1848.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

THE decease of the author of the foregoing portion of the HISTORY OF MEXICO, renders it incumbent on another to carry out the same, whose object, through the whole of the succeeding historical narration has been, to give simply as full and correct an account as possible, of the disastrous battles that succeeded the fall of Vera Cruz to the close of the war with the United States. We give to the reader a concise view of the everchanging scenes of the Mexican government and the political parties of the nation, as acted upon and directed by the multitude of her political chiefs during that period; and though the picture presented cannot be pleasant for the thoughtful mind to contemplate, yet it is interesting from its very changes. We leave it under the government of Herrera, at the conclusion of the war with the United States; and rejoice that the commencement of that administration has shown more energy and vigor, in repressing insurrections, in maintaining order and tranquillity, and in advancing the best interests of the people, than any administration that has held the reins of power since the banishment of the Emperor Iturbide; and it is to be hoped and expected, that the events of the war, and the occupation of parts of the country by the American armies, has proved of advantage to the Mexican nation, in showing the people their true strength, the advantages of law and order in civil society, and the true value of their host of military chieftains; but, more especially, in having had a strong influence in removing from the minds of the people the slavish superstitions with which they have been encircled. It is for the future historian to relate the effect of these lessons upon Mexico, and by that effect to trace the nation in its rising progress to a respectable, and to a degree, happy people; or, on the other hand, by a neglect of these, and by a continuance of the same course as of former years, to follow her fallen power, step by step, to the deepest anarchy; then to record, that Mexico was a nation of former times, but now no more.

ENTERED according to act of Congress, in the year 1848, by J. A. & U. P. JAMES, in the Clerk's office of the district court of Ohio.

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THE possession of the three pieces of American artillery and the flags, taken by Santa Anna, at Buena Vista, enabled him to claim the victory there, in terms sufficiently plausible, to deceive the Mexican nation, always willing to be deceived in opinion of the ability of their generals, and the prowess of their troops.—The fact of the army having totally failed in its proposed object—that of driving the invaders from their northern position—was not thought of, save to refer it to their want of provisions, as the commander-in-chief affirmed.—His reception by the people of the towns on his route of retreat, was that accorded a conqueror. They believed, that he had given a death blow to the army of the United States in the north, and that he would soon utterly defeat and drive from the shores of the republic, that victorious column, which, under Gen. Scott, had just accomplished the reduction of the rich city of Vera Cruz, and the strong castle of Ulloa.

The Mexicans now looked not upon their real losses, but only dwelt upon their future fancied success.—Their spirits and confidence were also much elevated, by the result of an assault, made by Gen. Urrea, with a body of lancers, upon a large wagon-train of the

enemy, near Marin, and not far from Monterey.—On the 22d of February, the same day of the commencement of the battle of Buena Vista, Urrea had wholly routed this American force, killing fifty, and taking thirty prisoners, together with one hundred and ten wagons with army stores, and three hundred pack mules with the same, and valuable merchandise.

This event added to the exultation of the nation, who now believed, that the tide of war would turn, under the direction of Santa Anna; and, to the patriotic appeal which he addressed to them,* upon hearing of the fall of Vera Cruz, they responded, by thousands rushing to his standard.—In a few days, he found his available forces swelled to a respectable army.—Having collected a vast amount of *materiel* of war, and impressed into his service all the wagons of private individuals within the city, and *atajos*, or droves of pack mules, sufficient for his purposes, on the 2d of April he commenced a rapid march for the strong position of Cerro Gordo, on the national road, between the cities of Vera Cruz and Jalapa; which he resolved to fortify in such strength, as to resist the onward movement of the invaders, toward the heart of the country.

On this march, his army was still further increased in numbers. At Puebla, he was received with joy, and supplies furnished him.—From

* ANTONIO LOPEZ DE SANTA ANNA, President ad interim of the Mexican Republic, to his compatriots:

Mexicans: Vera Cruz is already in the power of the enemy. It has succumbed; not under the influence of American valor, nor can it be even said that it has fallen under the impulses of their good fortune. To our shame be it said, we ourselves, have produced this deplorable misfortune, by our own interminable discords.

The truth is due to you from the government; you are the arbiters of the fate of our country. If our country is to be defended, it will be you who will stop the triumphant march of the enemy, who now occupies Vera Cruz. If the enemy advance one step more, the national independence will be buried in the abyss of the past.

I am resolved to go out and encounter the enemy. What is life worth, ennobled by the national gratitude, if the country suffers under a censure, the stain of which will be visible upon the forehead of every Mexican?

My duty is to sacrifice myself, and I well know how to fulfill it! Perhaps the American hosts may proudly tread the imperial capital of the Aztecs. I will never witness such opprobrium, for I am decided, first to die fighting!

The momentous crisis has at length arrived to the Mexican Republic. It is as glorious to die fighting, as it is infamous *to declare ourselves conquered, without a struggle*—and by an enemy whose rapacity is as far removed from valor as from generosity.

Mexicans! you have a religion—protect it! You have honor—then free yourselves from infamy! You love your wives, your children—then liberate them from American brutality! But it must be by action—not by vain entreaty nor barren desires—with which the enemy must be opposed. The national cause is infinitely just, although

the castle of Perote, as he advanced, he withdrew many pieces of artillery, in addition to those that he had brought on; and, anticipating a long and protracted battle, from here he added also much *materiel*. At the beautiful city of Jalapa, as he neared his intended position, he was received with the greatest enthusiasm, increased among the inhabitants, by the knowledge, that should the army fail to arrest the progress of the enemy, their city would be the first to fall into the invader's hands.—Here, more supplies were furnished, not only in subsistence and ammunition, but in that more needed at this juncture, money for the pay of the troops.

He arrived at the position of Cerro Gordo with an army of near fifteen thousand men, with a fine park of forty-two pieces of artillery, and an immense *materiel* of war.—The old fortifications, which, in the war for independence, had made this point impregnable against the efforts of any force advancing from the east, were reoccupied, repaired, increased, and strengthened.—The wild and desolate hills, and the lonely mountain pass were covered, over and around, by the warlike and imposing battalions of Mexico, whose flag blew out from the lofty summits of the eminences, in the strong gulf breeze, that came rushing up from the extended regions of the *tierras calientes*, or hot lands, which lay spread out in view at their bases, far below, like a map.

God appears to have deserted us; but His ire will be appeased, when we present, as an expiation of our errors, the sentiments of true patriotism, and of a sincere union. Thus, the Almighty will bless our efforts, and we will be invincible; for, against the decision of eight millions of Mexicans, of what avail are the efforts of eight or ten thousand Americans, when opposed by the fiat of Divine justice!

Perhaps I speak to you for the last time! I pray you listen to me! Do not vacillate between death and bravery; and if the enemy conquer you, at least they will respect the heroism of your resistance. It is now time that the common defense should alone occupy your thoughts! The hour of sacrifice has sounded its approach! Awaken! A tomb opens at your feet! Conquer a laurel to repose on it.

The nation has not yet lost its vitality. I swear to you, I will answer for the triumph of Mexico, if unanimous and sincere desires on your part, second my desires. Happy will have been, a thousand times happy, the unfortunate event at Vera Cruz, if the destruction of that city may have served to infuse into the Mexican breast the dignity and the generous ardor of a true patriotism! Thus will the country have been indubitably saved; but if the country succumb, she will bequeath her opprobrium and her censure to those egotists who were not ready to defend her—to those who traitorously pursued their private turmoils to trample upon the national banner!

Mexicans! your fate is the fate of the nation! Not the Americans, but you will decide her destiny! Vera Cruz calls for vengeance! Follow me, and wash out the stain of her dishonor!

ANTONIO LOPEZ DE SANTA ANNA.

MEXICO, March 31, 1847.

Under the direction of the commander-in-chief, the whole army was in active note of preparation, and the tones of bugles, and the roll of drums, answered each other from hight to hight, and resounded in the deep glens whose passage was to be effectually prohibited to the enemy.

Another political change had taken place at the capital, a few days before this time. The Vice-President, Gomez Farias, as has been before recorded, had obtained the ill will of the clergy, and horror stricken the more bigoted part of the people, by his efforts to raise means for the support of the armies of the nation, from the sale of the immense property of the church.—This had led to the revolution against his power, conducted by Gen. Peña y Barragan, which the president, Santa Anna, had quelled by his rapid approach from San Luis Potosi.—Now, as he was again about to leave with the army, to meet Gen. Scott, the enemies of Gomez Farias exerted themselves to remove him from office, before he should again have the sway of the government at the capital.—But as this could not be done by revolution without striking at the power of the President Santa Anna, against whom no one, at the present, wished to move, a bolder scheme was planned and carried through congress, after fierce opposition, by the passage of the following decree, which, while it gave the president permission to lead the army against the enemy, effectually removed Gomez Farias from power, by abolishing the office which he held, making provision for its place to be supplied by that of a president-substitute; and also, providing for the next election, according to the old plan of continual changes of form of government and elections, which has been so far, the particular curse of the Mexican Republic.

“1. Permission is granted to the actual President of the Republic, to take command, in person, of the forces which the Government may place under his command, to resist the foreign enemy.

“2. The Vice Presidency of the Republic, established by the law of 21st December last, is suppressed.

“3. The place of the provisional President shall be filled by a substitute, named by Congress, according to the terms of the law just cited.

“4. If, in this election, the vote of the deputations should be tied, in place of determining the choice by lot, Congress shall decide, voting by person.

“5. The functions of the substitute shall cease, when the provisional President shall return to the exercise of power.

“6. On the 15th day of May next, the legislatures of the states shall proceed to the election of a President of the Republic, according

to the form prescribed by the constitution of 1824, and with no other difference, save voting for one individual only.

“7. The same legislatures shall at once transmit to the Sovereign Congress, the result of the election, in a certified dispatch.”

This decree was passed upon the 30th March ; and at the same sitting, Congress, having been informed, through a minister, that President Santa Anna wished at once to depart for the army, immediately resolved itself into permanent session, and elected, to fill the newly created office of president substitute, Señor Pedro Maria Anaya, a person of patriotism, integrity and capability, who was popular with the three great classes, the clergy, army, and people ; and who, moreover, not having been an actor on the changing political arena, at this important period possessed the advantage of having no bitter political enemies.—He was installed into office on the 2d day of April, and as soon as the ceremony was over, Santa Anna left for the army, which had already taken up the line of march.

This action of congress, in thus abolishing the vice presidency, was, by the minority thereof, in a few days after, protested against in the most energetic manner, and declared “irregular and unconstitutional ;” and to this protest the legislature of the powerful State of Jalisco added its remonstrance in a short time, but it produced no effect. The president substitute, Anaya, entered upon the duties of his office with vigor, and in conjunction with Gen. Bravo, left in command of the forces at the capital, began making strong efforts to still farther arouse the spirit of resistance against the invaders, both in the capital and nation.

At Cerro Gordo, Santa Anna and his generals spared no exertion necessary to still further increase the formidable defenses.—This position was wild and rugged in the extreme.—A small river of clear water running eastwardly dashed over the rocks and wound its way along in the romantic bottom of a wide and terrible ravine, into the perpendicular depth of which, five hundred feet, it is awful to look down from the rocky heights, which now formed the position of the right of the Mexican army.—The mountain tropical birds sailed through its depths, far below the point of vision, while the opposite precipitous boundary of dark and naked rocks, at the distance of half a mile across the chasm, effectually forbade descent into the depths. No passage, therefore, could be attempted across this from the northwest to the southeast, save at one point, in the latter direction, where with infinite labor, along a natural ravine, that met the other at right angles, the old Spanish road had been constructed, which descended to it, five miles from Cerro Gordo.—A magnificent stone bridge, of lofty

arches, spanned the stream, and the road, leaving it after crossing a small plain, called Plan del Rio, rose again from its depths by a spiral ascent around the brow of a lofty mountain, turned to the northwest, and followed a parallel course, as it rapidly ascended among the rocky hills which were interspersed with long and deep glens and precipitous ravines, not so large as the former, but terrible to look into, and mostly impassable; winding around these hills, and on the precipitous edges of these chasms, the road came to the pass of Cerro Gordo;—this was looked down upon from either side by imposing eminences, their brows now surrounded by breastworks, frowning with cannon, and bristling with bayonets; while in the rear, from strong batteries protruded the mouths of heavy cannon, bearing down upon the pass, rendering it impossible for a foe to advance;—along this road the invaders must come.

Gen. Santa Anna established his headquarters in the rear of these hills, on a plain, and near the edge of the terrible southern ravine.—As it was impossible to descend into its depths to obtain water from the river, a small stream from the hills still in his rear was diverted and conveyed to this spot, by a ditch.—He placed his hospitals and stores around him, and strengthened his immediate position, by a battery of seven pieces of artillery, as a precaution of reserve, and backed them by a body of four thousand lancers, under the command of Gen. Canalizó.—In front of him, as he looked towards the east, rose the lofty hills between which came up the pass.—That on the right, was bounded by the southern ravine on its flank, and ended abruptly in three spurs on its eastern extremity; from these, one could see down on the hot and lower regions of the *tierras calientes*, and the distant gulf bounded the view.—On the left, Cerro Gordo arose in its bulk near a thousand feet, and in front of that, to the east, the lower but lofty hill of Telegrafo stretched out its long extent, every foot of its surface under the plunging fire of the guns of Cerro Gordo.—Around the northern base of this, and of Cerro Gordo, ran a deep ravine, considered impassable.—At the narrow mouth of the pass, he established a battery of five cannon, bearing down its extent; the road was also ditched and barricaded; here, too, he stationed heavy bodies of infantry.—On the top of Cerro Gordo, to the left, were placed six pieces of artillery, and three thousand choice troops under Gen. Ampudia, with Gen. Vasquez as second in command.—On the hill to the right, along its brow, from the commencement of its ascent, at the mouth of the pass, to its termination on the first eastern spur, twelve hundred yards, all the way looking down on the road as it wound round the gorge, were breastworks lined with infantry, and a battery of three cannon

midway. These, together with the first eastern spur of the eminence, which overhung the road for half a mile, before it entered the pass, and on which were mounted seven pieces of artillery, was placed under the command of Gen. Romulus de la Vega.—The second, or central spur, separated from each of the others by a deep ravine, and being, by the sloping position of the ground for a mile in front of it, more easily approached, was stronger; with two lines of rock defense, mounting eight pieces of artillery, and supported by a force of two thousand men, consisting of the battalions of Zachapuala and Hualtanque, a body of artillery of the line, and the piquets of Matamoros and Libertad—some of the oldest and best troops of the Mexican army.—This important post was commanded by Gen. Jose Maria Jerero, with Post Capt. Don Buenaventura Arango, a brave officer, second in command.

The third, and southern spur, flanked by the deep chasm, and fronting like the other two, on the same line to the east, was also defended by a stone breastwork, and mounted six pieces of artillery, part of them so disposed, as to bear upon a column advancing upon the central battery. This post was commanded by Gen. Luis Pinson.

In all his arrangements for the approaching conflict, the commander-in-chief displayed great generalship; and, with full confidence in their success, and with the knowledge, that upon the event of this battle was staked every hope of Mexico, the subordinate generals and the army awaited the approach of the daring invaders.

On the 8th of April, the advance of the Americans, under Gen. Twiggs, left Vera Cruz, on their march toward the interior. On the 10th, proceeded a large division under Maj. Gen. Patterson. On the 12th, Gen. Scott with the dragoons. On the 13th, the division of Gen. Worth followed, with the artillery; and on the 14th, the brigade of Gen. Quitman brought up the rear.

Gen. Twiggs's force arriving at Plan del Rio, on the 11th, after a hot skirmish with the advance of the Mexican lancers, passed on until they were within direct gun-shot of the formidable intrenchments, without being aware of their existence—with such celerity and silence had Santa Anna made his arrangements.—Twiggs fell back to Plan del Rio, and awaited the approach of Patterson's division, which, followed by Generals Scott and Gen. Worth's division, soon arrived, and the two armies lay at a distance of five miles apart.

Santa Anna, his officers and soldiers, were now most active.—The general was over all parts of the field, again and again, directing all operations upon the various points for defense. The main attack he expected would be upon the right; for no one in his army dreamed that the lofty hill of Cerro Gordo could be stormed. Upon his right

the trees and brush were cut down for a distance of two hundred yards in front, and along the slope of the hill down to the road below. From this position, he could look directly down upon the American camp in the deep valley below; every movement there was perceptible to, and prepared for, by him.

Gen. Scott, on the other hand, was equally active. In addition to the reconnoissances made by Gen. Twiggs, others more daring, were completed by the engineers, and by Gen. Pillow in person. The result of these, from the nature of the ground, and the impossibility of approach by a small party was extremely unsatisfactory, but still enough for Gen. Scott to form his plan of attack. One important item, the artillery on the right, was undiscovered in these reconnoissances.—On the 17th of April, Gen. Twiggs advanced, cut a new road to the right of the main one, and crossing some ravines before deemed impassable, took possession of the height of Telegrafo, the long and high hill in front, and below the lofty Cerro Gordo, the Mexican left. Santa Anna, from the latter hill, seeing this movement, sent a large force to regain Telegrafo.—A sharp action immediately took place, but the Americans retained possession of the important eminence; and during the night, reinforced by Gen. Shields's brigade, mounted on the hill, three 24 pounders, and the next morning, the 18th, opened a heavy upward fire upon the height of Cerro Gordo.—Santa Anna was there, but left shortly afterwards, for his headquarters. Gen. Ampudia also left, leaving the post in command of Gen. Vasquez.

Soon after this firing had commenced, the Mexican lines were assailed in all parts, with the utmost impetuosity.—Gen. Pillow vigorously assaulted the strong right; Col. Harney, with Twiggs's brigade, ascended the hill of Cerro Gordo; Col. Riley, with the 2d brigade, winding round the base of that, attacked in rear the fortifications on the road; while Gen. Shields led his brigade still further round from the base and in the rear of the hill, and suddenly and violently assaulted the headquarters of Santa Anna himself, taking the seven gun battery, routing the Mexican infantry, and putting Gen. Canalizo's body of cavalry to a complete and disorderly flight.—Col. Harney, after experiencing a desperate resistance on the top of Cerro Gordo, carried it with the bayonet.—Col. Riley, after resistance equally strong, routed the forces at the entrance of the pass, and captured the battery there.

Gen. Pillow, on the right, furiously assaulted the strong works, and not dreaming of artillery, was received by such a destructive fire of canister shot, from eight pieces in front, five on the next battery to his right, and four on the one to his left, and the fire of two thou-

sand muskets, that his foremost regiment, the 2d Tennessee, was swept away instantaneously.—More formidable preparations for another assault were immediately made ; but, Generals La Vega, Pinson and Jarero, seeing that the height of Cerro Gordo was carried, which commanded, from the left, and rear, their position, and that their retreat was entirely cut off, surrendered their whole forces prisoners of war ; while the fugitives from the other parts of the field, fled along the Jalapa road, as rapidly as fear could urge them, followed and cut down, by the American dragoons and infantry.

Gen. Santa Anna barely escaped, on one of the mules of his carriage.—Gen. Ampudia with difficulty and by stratagem eluded the pursuit of the dragoons, which continued for sixteen miles.—Never was a battle more fully lost, never was a rout more complete, more final, more disastrous. The Mexican army was for the present annihilated. Gen. Canalizo's lancers passed through Jalapa, in fear and haste, where, a few days before, they had boasted, that each man would bring a captive enemy tied in triumph to his horse. The Mexican loss in this battle, was fifteen hundred killed and wounded, four thousand prisoners, including two hundred and eighty-five officers, and five generals, viz., Pinson, Jarero, La Vega, Noreiga, and Obando. Gen. Vasquez was killed at his post. Forty-two pieces of cannon, most of them brass, eight thousand stand of arms, many wagons and pack mules, and an immense *materiel* fell into the hands of the Americans. Sixteen thousand dollars in silver, was found in Santa Anna's carriage.

This result of the battle was so astounding, so unlooked for, by all parties in Mexico, that the utmost consternation and dread spread itself widely around.—The city of Jalapa immediately surrendered to the conquerors ; the famous castle of Perote was found by the small division under Gen. Worth, who entered there on the 22d at noon, to be entirely deserted, save by Col. Velasquez, who had been left to deliver it into their hands. The splendid city of Puebla yielded on the advance of Worth, on the 15th of May ; and there can be no doubt, that if Gen. Scott had continued his march immediately to the capital, he would have taken it without even a show of resistance. Indeed, nothing else was expected by the citizens of the city of Mexico, who for several days after, were thrown continually into the utmost terror, by reports that the Americans were coming.

The wretched survivors of the Mexican army, who reached the city, less than two thousand in number, brought with them, besides their woful, shattered appearance, the most exaggerated accounts of American prowess. Alarm and confusion reigned supreme ; so completely had everything been staked upon the result of the battle of

Cerro Gordo, that now all were completely overwhelmed by the defeat. There was no army remaining, no artillery, no munitions of war, no generals.

Santa Anna escaped to the town of Orizaba, with a wretched remnant of fugitives ; but to his great joy and relief, the American general advanced no further than Puebla, and reduced his forces, by discharging and sending home seven of his regiments—those who had enlisted for only twelve months, whose time as yet had not expired—a portion of his best troops.

The government of Mexico, though astounded by their reverses, yet made renewed efforts to stay the invaders. Referring to the history of Spain, their mother country, and noting the success of the guerilla, or partizan method of warfare there, when employed against the French in Napoleon's wars, they determined to rouse the whole country to form guerrilla bands, under partizan leaders, who should emulate one another in their endeavors to annoy the invaders in every possible manner. Santa Anna had before, when retreating from Buena Vista, commenced this scheme, and forwarded orders to the governors of states, prefectos of districts, and alcaldes of towns, to rapidly organise guerrilla bands, taking for this purpose all the available population. But not until after this battle, did the new cause receive much impetus. It was now determined on with enthusiasm. Gen. Salas was among the most conspicuous of its supporters ; he issuing the following proclamation a few days after the battle of Cerro Gordo, and while Santa Anna was yet a fugitive at Orizaba.

PROCLAMATION.

The citizen, Mariana Salas, General of Brigade, and Colonel of the Regiment Hidalgo, to my fellow citizens :

“ My friends : The present moment is the most proper to excite the public spirit, and form a nation of men truly free. When an enemy triumphs by his union, to rob us of our dearest interests, there is nothing more sure and more certain, than to vanquish him by valor and constancy.

“ For this end, I have obtained permission to raise a Guerrilla Corps, with which to attack and destroy the invaders, in every manner imaginable. The conduct of the enemy, contrary both to humanity and natural rights, authorises us to pursue him without pity (*misericordia*). WAR WITHOUT PITY, AND DEATH ! will be the motto of the guerrilla warfare of VENGEANCE. Therefore, I invite all my fellow citizens, especially my brave subordinates, to unite at General Headquarters, to enroll themselves, from nine until three in the afternoon, so that it may be organised in the present week.

[Signed]

JOSE MARIANA SALAS.”

These bodies of guerrillas were now rapidly formed. The following articles, issued by D. Miguel Orbe, the curate, or principal priest

of Huauchinango, who, with many of his brotherhood, now laid aside the "sword of the spirit" for more tangible weapons, the sabre, lance, and escopeta, are given as the terms upon which they were enrolled :

"He who subscribes this, pledges himself to the five following articles :

"1st. To die defending and avenging Our Lady of Guadalupe, and the Catholic, Apostolic, Roman religion which he professes.

"2d. To defend the integrity and independence of his nation.

"3d. To pursue, with death, the Anglo Americans, their followers, defenders or allies, whoever they may be.

"4th. To abjure and detest the personal party, of whoever have destroyed their country.

"5th. To respect all legitimate authority, whatever it may be, in every thing not repugnant to the preceding articles.

"These five articles shall be the fundamental rule of the guerrilla, and shall be denominated, *La Insurgente Gudalupana*."

Leaving now the disturbed capital, the shattered army, the forming guerrilla bands, and the alarmed population, let us turn our attention back to some time previous to this, reviewing the movements of the American fleet, and of the disastrous operations of defense in Northern Mexico.

The port of Tuspan, situated about midway between Tampico and Vera Cruz, was now the only one of any note on the Gulf of Mexico, which had not fallen into the hands of the invaders ; but this did not long remain an exception. Gen. Cos, whose name has been identified in connection with the invasions of Texas, now commanded the division of the Mexican army which were posted at and near this coast. His headquarters were at Tuspan ; he had, at this time, near a thousand troops as a garrison for the place, the fortifications of which had been much improved and strengthened, by mounting the pieces of artillery which had been taken from the U. S. brig of war Truxton, of 10 guns, which had been wrecked at the mouth of Tuspan river, on the 15th of August previous.

On the 17th of April, the same day upon which the battle of Cerro Gordo commenced, the American fleet, consisting of the frigate Raritan, the sloops of war Albany, Germantown, John Adams, and Decatur, the steam frigate Mississippi, three smaller steamers, the Spitfire, Vixen, and Scourge, three schooners, the Bonita, Petrel, and Reefer, and three bomb vessels, the Etna, Vesuvius, and Hecla, appeared off the mouth of Tuspan river ; and the following day, the 18th, the town, about five miles up the river, was attacked by the small steamers, the gun schooners, and heavy barges from the larger vessels. The forts

of La Pania, La Palma Sola, on the river, and the hospital fort in the town were captured, with eight pieces of artillery, three vessels and three launches. Gen. Cos and his forces precipitately retreated toward the interior. Of the guns found at Tuspan, all those which had belonged to the wrecked brig were carried off by the American fleet, the others were destroyed, while the town remained in possession, held by one of the vessels before it. The ports on the Gulf of Mexico were now all closed to the Mexicans. The American fleet was stationed along the coast, and kept up a vigorous blockade.

A little before this time, on the 31st of March, 1847, the spirits of the Mexican nation had been still further depressed, by the fall of Alvarado, the next port to the southeast of Vera Cruz, and also of the town of Flacotalpam, situated on the Alvarado river, above the former place. These towns, with their artillery, munitions of war, &c., surrendered to the United States' steamer of war Scourge, which, appearing off the bar of Alvarado river, on the night of the 30th, opened a brisk and effective fire upon the forts there, and renewed it upon the following morning, until a flag of truce was shown, when the steamer entered, passed up to the town, and the commander, Lieut. Charles G. Hunter, received the surrender of the place; immediately pursued a fleet of small vessels loaded with munitions of war, which were endeavoring to escape up the river; captured and burned two of them, and arriving at the town of Flacotalpam, summoned it, and received its surrender. The loss of Alvarado was more severely felt by the people of Mexico, because it had already twice successfully resisted the attacks of the whole American fleet; which, at this very moment, under Commodore Perry, was on its way to make a third attack, supported by a large division of the American army then on its march, under Gen. Quitman, from Vera Cruz. This large force of army and navy, arrived at the place shortly after its surrender. Alvarado was an important town, and the loss of that, preceded by Vera Cruz, and so soon followed by that of Tuspan, entirely stopped the passage of all supplies by this coast to the interior.

While these events had been transpiring in the southern and eastern parts of Mexico, the people of the states of Durango and Zacatecas were excessively alarmed by the approach of the victorious column of the enemy, which under Col. Doniphan, had twice defeated the Mexican forces, and for a considerable period established themselves in the wealthy city of Chihuahua. As they now moved to the southward to join Gen. Wool's column at Saltillo, every town on their route was deserted by the Mexican forces, and Durango was believed

to be especially the next object of their attack ; but much to the relief of the inhabitants, they passed on, leaving the state entirely.

Disaster to the Mexican nation had rapidly followed disaster. In California they perceived with pain, that the efforts of the population to throw off the authority of their conquerors, had been destroyed by their complete defeat at Los Angeles, and that they had been forced to treat with their victors under Lieut. Col. Fremont, agreeing to retire peaceably to their homes, giving up their arms and artillery, and pledging themselves not again to partake in hostilities against the United States during the war. The nation of Mexico learned the determination of their victorious enemy to take permanently from them the valuable province of Upper California, as they had already taken that of New Mexico. This determination was rendered apparent to them by the following proclamation of Gen. Kearney, the military commander of the forces of the United States in California.

The Californians had excited this formidable insurrection, as has been mentioned in the former pages of this work, but had been defeated by Gen. Kearney in the action of San Pasqual, on the morning of Dec. 6th, 1846, and again, under their commander Gen. Jose Ma. Flores, were defeated by the combined forces of Commodore Stockton and Gen. Kearney, under the command of the latter at San Gabriel, on Jan. 8th, 1847, after a hard fight of one hour and a half, and were yet again defeated by the same force at Mesa, on the following day, Jan. 9th. Genl's. Flores and Pico, after their gallant effort to regain possession of their province from their invaders, having thus entirely failed therein, and learning that another body of the enemy, the California battalion under Lieut. Col. Fremont, four hundred strong, were near by on their march from the valley of Sacramento ; and also that still another body equally strong, the Mormon battalion under Col. Cooke, were close at hand, after the long march of two thousand miles across the desert, which route Gen. Kearney himself had traveled ; and that yet another regiment, one thousand strong, under Col. Stevenson, were on their way by sea from the United States, and would shortly arrive, seeing no hope for success, determined to save themselves, by capitulation of their forces ; and immediately offered this to Gen. Kearney and Commodore Stockton ; but these commanders would not receive such capitulation, on the ground that those thus making it had already broken their parole. Upon this repulse, the Mexican leaders rapidly advanced to meet Col. Fremont, and sending to him flags of truce and offers of capitulation, he, ignorant of the refusal of the other commanders, accepted their offers, and entered into articles of capitulation with them.

Thus ended the resistance to the invading forces of the United States in Upper California, and the whole province was now quietly in possession of that power.

PROCLAMATION TO THE PEOPLE OF CALIFORNIA.

The President of the United States having devolved upon the undersigned the civil government of California, he enters upon the discharge of his duties with an ardent desire to promote as far as possible the interests of the country and well being of its inhabitants.

The undersigned is instructed by the President to respect and to protect the religious institutions of California, to take care that the religious rights of its inhabitants are secured in the most ample manner, since the Constitution of the United States allows to every individual the privilege of worshipping his Creator in whatever manner his conscience may dictate.

The undersigned is also instructed to protect the persons and property of the quiet and peaceable inhabitants of the country, against each and every enemy, whether foreign or domestic; and now assuring the Californians that his inclinations, no less than his duty, demand the fulfillment of these instructions, he invites them to use their best efforts to preserve order and tranquillity, to promote harmony and concord, and to maintain the authority and efficacy of the laws.

It is the desire and intention of the United States to procure for California as speedily as possible, a free Government like that of their own territories, and they will very soon invite the inhabitants to exercise the rights of free citizens in the choice of their own representatives, who may enact such laws as they deem best adapted to their interests and well being. But until this takes place, the laws actually in existence, which are not repugnant to the Constitution of the United States, will continue in force until they are revoked by competent authority; and persons in the exercise of public employments will for the present remain in them, provided they swear to maintain the said Constitution and faithfully to discharge their duties.

The undersigned by these presents absolves all the inhabitants of California from any further allegiance to the Republic of Mexico, and regards them as citizens of the United States. Those who remain quiet and peaceable will be respected and protected in their rights; but should any one take up arms against the Government of this territory, or join such as do so, or instigate others to do so—all these he will regard as enemies, and they will be treated as such.

When Mexico involved the United States in war, the latter had not time to invite the Californians to join their standard as friends, but found themselves compelled to take possession of the country, to prevent its falling into the hands of some European power. In doing this, there is no doubt that some excesses, some unauthorized acts were committed by persons in the service of the United States, and that in consequence some of the inhabitants have sustained losses in their property. These losses shall be duly investigated, and those who are entitled to indemnification shall receive it.

For many years California has suffered great domestic convulsions; from civil wars like poisoned fountains, have flowed calamity and pestilence over this beautiful region. These fountains are now dried up; the stars and stripes now float over California, and as long as the sun shall shed its light they will continue to wave over her, and over the natives of the country, and over those who shall seek a domicile in her bosom;

and under the protection of this flag agriculture must advance, and the arts and sciences will flourish like seed in a rich and fertile soil.

Americans and Californians! from henceforth one people. Let us then indulge one desire, one hope; let that be for the peace and tranquillity of our country. Let us unite like brothers, and mutually strive for the improvement and advancement of this our beautiful country, which within a short period cannot fail to be not only beautiful, but also prosperous and happy.

Given at Monterey, capital of California, this 1st day of March, in the year of our Lord 1847, and of the Independence of the United States the 71st.

S. W. KEARNEY, Brig. Gen. U. S. A.
and Governor of California.

All these tidings of evil were now pouring in upon the Mexican government and people. Only one short year had elapsed since their numerous and powerful army in all its display of martial pomp, with fluttering banners, and triumphant music, had moved to the Rio Grande, with determination and all confidence to repress the advances of their northern enemy, and to re-conquer that fair and extensive country of Texas, which had been wrested from them. In this year reverse upon reverse, defeat upon defeat, had befallen them. At Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma, Monterey, Brazito, Sacramento, San Diego, Buena Vista, Vera Cruz, Cerro Gordo, and in a multitude of smaller actions, their armies had been defeated, their citizens slaughtered. Instead of the banners of the Mexican army moving in triumph on the banks of the Sabine, as they had fondly hoped, after traversing and subjugating Texas, and then being ready to inflict punishment upon the United States, that army had scarcely entered the confines of Texas, before they were driven from thence with defeat, slaughter, and disgrace. Their victors, in turn, had become their invaders; not only confirmed in the loss of Texas, they beheld within a few months, the extensive and valuable province of New Mexico in the hands of the Americans, not again to be returned to them; they saw too, following this loss, that of the fair province of California. They beheld all their generals defeated in their utmost exertions to hold their ground against their active foes; their northern cities in possession of the enemy, and the fairest provinces of the east traversed by the invading armies. Their every sea-port, fort, castle, and strong hold on one coast of Mexico was now in possession of the armies of the United States: while the powerful fleets of the latter, both in the gulf and Pacific, held in check every succor offered, and spread consternation on the coasts whenever their white sails appeared on the horizon. The famous castle of St. Juan De Ulloa, and the strong and rich city of Vera Cruz, the keys to the gulf, and the entrances to their capital, they saw but the depots of the enemy's *materiel*, the landing place of their forces.

But to the credit of the Mexican nation be it said, that at this dark hour they thought not of peace, but determined still more strongly to resist to the last what they regarded as oppression. Immediately after the disastrous battle of Cerro Gordo, on the 20th of April, in the midst of the alarm and confusion incident therefrom, the Mexican Congress, in extraordinary session, passed the following resolutions unanimously.

The sovereign constituent Mexican Congress, in use of the full powers with which the inhabitants of the republic have invested it for the sacred object of saving its nationality, and as a faithful interpreter of the firm determination with which its constituents are decided to carry on the war which the United States are now making on the nation, without desisting on account of any kind of reverses; and considering that under these circumstances the first public necessity is, that of preserving a center of union, to direct the national defense with all the energy that circumstances demand, and to avoid even the danger of a revolutionary power arising, which might dissolve the national union, destroy its institutions, or consent to the dismemberment of its territory, has determined to decree as follows:

Art. 1.—The supreme government of the union is authorized to dictate all necessary measures for the purpose of carrying on the war, defending the nationality of the republic, and saving the federal republican form of government under which the nation is constituted.

Art. 2.—The preceding article does not authorize the Executive to make a peace with the United States, conclude a negotiation with foreign powers, nor dispose, in whole or in part, of the territory of the republic.

Art. 3.—Neither does it authorize him to make contracts of colonization, impose punishments, nor confer any civil or military employments other than those whose appointments are expressly entrusted to him by the constitution.

Art. 4.—Every agreement or treaty shall be null and void which may be made between the United States and any authority whatever, which, subverting the actual order of affairs, should set aside or take the place of the legally established supreme powers of the union.

Art. 5.—Every individual is declared a traitor, let him be a private person, or public functionary, who, either in his private capacity or invested with any authority, incompetent or of revolutionary origin, may enter into treaties with the United States of America.

Art. 6.—In the event that the actual Congress finds it impossible to continue its sessions, a permanent committee shall be immediately installed, to be composed of the oldest individuals then found present of each deputation.

Art. 7.—This committee, in the absence of Congress, shall perform the duties of a government council; shall appoint, in case of vacancy, the person who is to take charge temporarily of the executive powers of the republic; shall regulate the counting and taking of the votes in the election of a new President: shall give possession to the elected person, and shall call together the national representation.

Art. 8.—The powers which the present decree confers on the government, shall cease as soon as the war is concluded.

CHAPTER II.

SANTA ANNA'S flight—His accounts of the battle—Joined at Orizaba, by Gen. Leon—Efforts of the President Substitute, Anaya, to fortify the Capital—Decree of amnesty for political offenses—Liberty of the press restricted—City of Mexico declared in a state of siege—Disposition for defense—Proclamation of Governor Trigueros—Santa Anna marches for Puebla—His attack at Amazoque, upon Gen. Worth—His repulse—Puebla taken possession of by the Americans—Santa Anna arrives near the city of Mexico—Dissatisfaction of the populace—He tenders his resignation—Is admitted with his Army, and assumes the direction of the government.

GEN. SANTA ANNA, in flying from the fatal rout of Cerro Gordo with six of his aids, striking off to the left of the main road through the chapparal, was joined by about twenty-five fugitive lancers, and arrived at the hacienda of Tusamapa, on the night of the 18th; the next day he continued his flight to Orizaba. He was now in one of those unfortunate extremes of which his whole life has been so prolific;—reduced repeatedly to the last extremity, merely to rise again.—One day at the head of a powerful army, the next a fugitive with hardly a corporal's guard attending, and with the whole apparent voice of the nation united against him. Again we see him with larger armies than before;—men, arms, munitions of war, and money, raised so suddenly by his indomitable and almost incredible energy, that he seems several times almost to have executed the vain boast of Pompey of old, "that he had but to stamp his foot upon the ground, and an army would rise." By no means scrupulous in his employment of methods, in directing and governing a nation proverbial for dishonesty and chicanery, his actions to this end will not bear the test of justice or honor, but nevertheless have always been effectual to his purpose. Never despairing himself, he could infuse into his routed troops the same confidence. Having deceived the populace scores of times, they were still willing to be deceived again. The slightest temporary advantage that he gained was immediately transmitted to the capital, and magnified into great importance, while his severe reverses were covered over, and accounted for with such plausibility of false reasoning, and coloring of facts, that the

nation having only access to these, believed him still, in the main, victorious.

From the battlefield of Cerro Gordo, on the evening of the 17th, after the advance of the enemy, under Gen. Twiggs, had taken the high of Telegrafo, Santa Anna writes a voluminous account of the action to President Anaya, claiming a victory, by reason of the main works not being attacked; making it appear that he had entirely repulsed the enemy from these. This dispatch was carried with all haste to the capital, and there produced its intended effect, of rejoicing and enthusiasm among the fickle populace.

From Orizaba, on the 22d of April, he writes the account of the action of the 18th, in which he magnifies the American force to double its actual strength, and reduces his own to one half its real complement. He finds fault with Gen. Canalizo for retreating, and blames part of his troops for their inexperience, &c.; but says not a word of his terrible loss of officers and men; promises to perform great exploits upon and against the rear of the enemy, and endeavors to excite still more strongly, the patriotism of the people.

He was joined at Orizaba, by Gen. D. Antonio Leon, with a fresh force of two thousand troops. He here also gave his full sanction to the movements of Salas and others, in forming guerrilla bands, and issued commissions to the officers. Being much in want of money, he exacted a loan of sixteen thousand dollars from the citizens of Orizaba, and made an energetic appeal to President Anaya for more funds, and also arms. This demand was partially granted by the president substitute; not, however, until after a difficulty with Gen. Bravo, the military commander of the city of Mexico and surrounding federal district; this general not being willing to spare anything from the city, which might contribute to its defense against the enemy.

On the 27th, fortifications were commenced rapidly at the city gates. On the same day, President Anaya issued a proclamation granting a full and unconditional pardon and amnesty, for all political offenses, and urged upon the people of Mexico the necessity of uniting against the common foe, now threatening the capital. Contributions of private individuals were given liberally toward the casting of cannon; and in many places the bells of the churches were presented by the ecclesiastical to the civil power, for this purpose; but, of the vast wealth of gold and silver possessed by the church, these dignitaries refused to yield any portion towards relieving the pressing emergencies of the government.

President Anaya and Gen. Bravo, seconded by Don Ignacio Tri-

gueros, the governor of the city, acted with great energy in their measures for placing the capital in a proper condition of defense. On the 5th of May, the city was declared to be in a state of siege; and, as a main object of the government was to give full confidence to the people of their ability to defend it, and as some of the papers of the day had criticised severely the conduct of Santa Anna, Ampudia, Canalizo, Morales, Landero, Miñon, Heredia, García Condé, and in fact, every leader, whose fortune it had been to encounter the everywhere conquering invaders, a decree was issued at this time by the president substitute, which, after declaring that the abuse of the liberty of the press had been scandalous, that the papers had promoted desertions, distrust and disunion in the army, and in the minds of the citizens, and the enemy had thus been indirectly assisted, and the defense of the country been rendered every day more difficult; he forbade the insertion thereafter, in any paper, of any remark or communication calculated to cast censure upon the supreme authorities, or in any way to throw the least discredit upon the Mexican army, or upon its commanders; and positively prohibited the press from engaging in any political or military discussions whatever; and these regulations to continue while the capital remained in a state of siege.

The press, by this order, was completely muzzled, and the people no longer heard of disasters, which from every quarter assailed by the Americans, were coming upon them; but, on the contrary, were continually encouraged and gratified, by the most false and extravagant accounts of Mexican prowess and success, on the one hand, and American loss and disaster on the other.

On the 7th, three decrees were issued by Gen. Bravo: one ordering, under severe penalties for noncompliance, all persons having in their possession, as private property, arms of any description, to produce and give them up for the use of the nation, taking therefor a certificate of value, receivable in payment of public dues.

The second decree ordered, that every person owning or possessing more than one horse, should place them at the disposal of the government, receiving for their value a like certificate; no person, on any consideration being allowed to keep but one. These decrees offered liberal rewards to any one who should inform upon any other who failed to comply with the provisions thereof.

The third decree was the more important, as it forced the whole available population into the ranks of defense, and showed the spirit and resolution with which the government of Mexico were determined to resist in their most important stronghold, the attack of the Americans. It will be seen, that no one was excused from active service.

This decree was made known by Governor Don Ignacio Trigueros, in the form of the following

PROCLAMATION.

HEADQUARTERS, ARMY OF THE CENTER, }
Mexico, May 6, 1847. }

The Federal District of this State being declared in a state of siege, it becomes my duty to comply with the 6th article of the law of the 26th of April last ; and, in order to meet the anxious wishes of the patriotic citizens of this city to arm themselves to repel our unjust invaders, I hereby, in conformity with the powers in me vested, ordain :

1. That all Mexican citizens, of the age of fifteen to sixty years, residing in the Federal District, will present themselves for enrollment at the place in their quarter or section which may be designated by the municipal authorities.

2. The Selectmen of the city, and those who in the other settlements of the district exercise their functions, will, on receipt of this decree, designate in their respective quarters or sections the place where the enrollment is to be made ; presiding over them either in person or by substitutes.

3. The same functionaries will, within six days from the publication of this decree, deliver unto the chief of the staff a register, containing in regular order the age, profession or occupation, residence, and whether single or married, of all Mexicans of the ages of fifteen to sixty years, who may reside in their quarter or section.

4. In conformity with these returns, the persons enlisted will be divided into two classes—one class containing the unmarried and the widowers without children, from the age of fifteen to forty years ; and the other class the married men and the widowers having family, and also bachelors from forty to sixty years.

5. From those enlisted will be formed as many battalions of each class as there may be in each quarter or section. Should any remain over, they may be formed into one or more companies or squadrons, according to their number.

6. The force of these battalions is to be in accordance with the law of the 12th of June, 1846.

7. The General-in-Chief will appoint the person who, during the state of siege in which this district may find itself, shall command the battalions and companies formed by this decree, and whose functions shall cease as soon as the siege is raised.

8. Every enlisted citizen shall receive a certificate proving his enlistment, signed by the commander of the corps to which he may be attached, and by the Selectmen of his quarter or section, and countersigned by the chief of the staff of the General-in-Chief.

9. Of the bodies which may be formed in each quarter or section there will be created, according to their number, one or more brigades, to be commanded by a person to be designated by the General-in-Chief.

10. All citizens will attend daily drill, and will perform such other duties as may be ordered, under the penalties established by law.

11. Whoever, at the approach of the enemy, the beat of the drum, or at the sound of any other signal calling to the common defense, shall not present himself at the place to which he may be ordered, or shall show cowardice, lukewarmness or indifference, or shall abandon the post in which he may be placed as guard or sentinel, fail in respect to his superiors, or commit any other military crime, shall be punished according to the ordinances.

12. Whoever shall, in order to escape enlistment, conceal his age, either by exaggerating or diminishing it, shall be looked upon as a traitor, and will be punished accordingly.

13. The authority or person who shall in any manner cover or aid in concealing the crime specified in the preceding article, will be subject to the same punishment.

14. Whoever shall hide himself and shall not have the certificate mentioned in Article No. 8, will be enrolled in the regular army.

15. The bodies created by the decree are destined solely and exclusively to repel the invaders and to maintain order, and will render services to that effect according to the law of 26th April last.

16. All who are enrolled and perform active duties as members of the National Guard, or who may be serving in garrison, will be exempt from serving in these bodies.

17. Owners of hotels, inns and boarding houses, must make a daily return of the persons who enter their houses, and of those who leave, under the penalties established by law.

All of which I communicate to your Excellency for speedy publication in this capital and settlements in this district. God and Liberty. NICOLAS BRAVO.

To DON IGNACIO TRIGUEROS, Governor of the Federal District.

Santa Anna having in the short period of twenty days, again raised a respectable force, consisting of about three thousand men, on the 6th of May commenced his march for the city of Puebla, where he arrived on the 11th. On the 12th, while engaged in the distribution of supplies to his soldiers, the information was brought to him of the advance of a division of Americans, under Gen. Worth, followed by another, under Gen. Quitman. He immediately marched out, and at Amazoque attacked Worth, but being too weak to effect his object, he retired with the loss of about ninety killed and wounded. Leaving then the city of Puebla to the invaders, and unable to resist the torrent setting against him, he continued his retreat to San Martin Texmalucan, on the road toward the capital, and thence to Ayotla, twenty miles from Mexico; here he was compelled to halt on account of the murmurings of the populace, who supposed by this movement, that the intention of the commander-in-chief was to defend the capital within its own walls; a measure, which, if adopted, they said, would bring destruction on their families and property.

Halting here, therefore, on the 18th of May he dispatched to the minister of war, within the city, a long communication, in which he referred to these murmurs, recapitulated his own actions in behalf of the nation since his return from exile, complained of the distrust and enmity exerted toward himself personally, declared his willingness to yield up his fortune and his life, if needed, to save the nation, &c. He recommended most energetically, that every measure be taken for the defense of the city; and finally, directed the minister to lay this communication before Anaya, the president substitute, and if his views

should not be recognised by that officer, further directed, that his resignation of the offices of first magistrate of the Republic, and commander-in-chief of the army, be immediately tendered, and his passports forwarded to him.

On the 18th, Don Manuel Maria de Sandoval, the minister of war, replies to him, that his excellency Anaya coincided with his views, and invited him to take formal possession of the capital with his army—which then was immediately done.

CHAPTER III.

APPROACH of the Mexican Army to the city of Mexico—Murmurs of the Populace—Tender of Resignation by Santa Anna—Non-acceptance of the same by the Mexican Congress—Coalition of the separate States—Withdrawal of the Revenues of the General Government—Dictatorial powers of the President—Deposition and imprisonment of opposing Generals—Progress of the Fortifications—Arrival at the Capital of the force of Gen. Alvarez—Renewal of restrictions on the Press—Silence of the Peace Party—Mediation of the English Minister, and the reception by Santa Anna, of Propositions for Peace from the United States—Action of Congress thereon—Convocation of a Council of Army Officers—Their Decision—Gen. Valencia's force arrives from San Luis Potosi.

THE army entered the city upon the next day, the 20th; Santa Anna assumed the supreme command, and Anaya retired into privacy. The first act of the president's renewed administration was to repeal the decree of restrictions, which Anaya had placed upon the liberty of the press. The next was, on the 21st, for the president and members of congress to swear to observe the new constitution, founded on that of 1824. Much parade was exhibited to the populace on this occasion; the congress, in procession, accompanied by the commander-in-chief, and an imposing escort, passed through the principal streets of the city to the cathedral, where a "Te Deum" was sung, to give due solemnity to the act. The president then proceeded to apply all his energies to the requisite preparations for the defense of the capital; and in a few days, these endeavors, in addition to the previous ones of Anaya, had placed an army of ten thousand men at his control, with their numbers continually increasing. One body of these, on whom he relied much, was composed entirely of deserters from the Americans, who had been induced, by the promises of his proclamations, to come over to the cause of Mexico.

But, while this success attended the extraordinary efforts of the commander-in-chief, another difficulty arose, in the renewed murmurs of the populace, with respect to the burdens imposed upon them in constructing the formidable series of defenses, which he commenced at the Peñon, eight miles from the city, Mexicalzingo, in the same neighborhood, and other places. A strong party, too, within the city, at heart tired of war, secretly opposed his efforts.

On the 20th, either weary of his arduous duties, or wishing more firmly to establish himself (and judging from his actions and character, most probably the latter), he tenders to congress, in a long and ably written document, his resignation of the offices of president of the Republic, and commander-in-chief of the army. In this communication, he takes care, as usual, to recapitulate his services since his return, laments his condition, but more particularly that of his country, congratulates himself upon having in so short a time, placed the capital in a state of defense sufficient to withstand all the force the enemy could then bring against it, and declares that he has done his duty, and that now forever he renounces public life. This resignation was immediately followed by that of Gen. Bravo, the commander of the troops in the city, and also by that of Gen. Rincon. Gen. Almonte was arrested, on a charge of having a correspondence with the enemy; and Gen. Arista, then under arrest, and on his trial before a court martial, for the surrender of Matamoras, a year previous, was set at liberty, to assist in the preparations for defense, while all proceedings against him were suspended.

The Mexican congress, however, as Santa Anna probably had foreseen, would not accept his resignation at this juncture; all saw in him as the commander, their only hope of resisting the invaders in their attack soon expected on the city, and insisted upon his retaining the direction of affairs and the command of the army. And thus, this extraordinary man, had, in less than six weeks after the battle of Cerro Gordo, not only regained his former standing with the people, but placed his power more securely than before—raised an army nearly equal to his first, and had replaced his losses with a success which would have appeared at first view wholly impossible.

But the Americans did not move against the capital as soon as its alarmed inhabitants anticipated. Several weeks elapsed, before they prepared to leave the beautiful and populous city of Puebla, in their onward march. Every moment of this time was improved by the commander-in-chief of the Mexicans, his soldiers, and the populace, to add to the strength of the fortifications. A spirit of enthusiasm was aroused, and they performed the labor and daily drills with pleasure, and gained confidence, that in the approaching struggles for the possession of the city, they should be victorious.

But at this important crisis, many of the states of the republic seemed only anxious to preserve themselves from the impending danger, and withdrew their aid from the central government. A coalition was formed at Lagos, on June 6th, by deputies from the States of Jalisco, San Luis Potosi, Zacatecas, Mexico, and Queretero, and the sec-

tion of Aguas Calientes, claiming to be a state, by which these combined for mutual defense ; opposed themselves decidedly to peace, but united their efforts to act independently of the central government in repelling the invaders, although to that government they promised assistance. To embarrass the supreme executive still more, while Zacatecas, a powerful state, refused to furnish a single battalion of soldiers, or the least pecuniary aid for the defense of the capital of the republic, that of Jalisco proceeded another step, in diverting the revenues arising from the tobacco monopoly within her limits, from the central government, and appropriating it to herself. Anarchy now prevailed in the Mexican Republic to a greater extent than ever had been known before.

The war was still carried on, if predatory attacks on the trains, and small parties of the enemy, could be dignified by the name of warfare, by partisan leaders commanding small forces, and responsible to no higher authority, and actuated by nought save the hope of plunder ; and even these operations were confined to the immediate vicinity of the national road, from Vera Cruz to Puebla. The inhabitants of other sections of country regarded every movement with apathy, talked loudly of glory, opposed all their influence to any peace with the enemy, but did not lift a finger to assist the struggling, tottering government, now unable to enforce its decrees, save at the capital. The large revenue derived from the duties on exportation of the precious metals from the mining districts of Zacatecas, was wholly withdrawn, by the faithless officers applying it to their own use, or permitting, for want of power or disposition to prevent, the metals to be smuggled off on the western coast, in the most public manner, by English ships. Revenues from the custom houses of the seaports and frontier, had been for some time at an end. But, deprived of all these resources, surrounded by faithless friends and treacherous subordinates, Gen. Santa Anna roused all his energies, and directed all his power to the one purpose—that of saving the city of Mexico from the possession of the Americans.

At this time, he was clothed with nearly the authority of a dictator. By the decree of congress of the 20th of April (see page 490), which was construed to its utmost latitude, all the restriction placed upon the absolute power of the President, consisted in these items—Having no authority to conclude a peace with the United States ;—none to conclude negotiations with foreign powers ;—none to alienate any portion of the territory of the republic, or to enter into contracts for the colonization of any part thereof ;—none to impose any punishment, or to confer any new civil or military employment, other than those

recognized by the constitution.—These restrictions were more nominal than otherwise. Santa Anna made a vigorous use of the extraordinary powers conferred upon him. On the 2d of June, he withdrew his tender of resignation to congress, alledging as his reasons therefor, that when he offered it, the enemy were not advancing from Puebla, but that, now having heard of his resignation, they were about to do so;—adding also, that a multitude of applications had poured in upon him from all classes of the population, beseeching him to continue to hold the reins of government, as the only person capable of saving the republic in the present emergency.

He was now emphatically “the government,” the master mind to whose dictates the congress, populace and army, bowed. He formed a new cabinet of Tornel, Rejon, Ibarra and Baranda;—but these he retained a few days only, and changed his ministers in rapid succession. Congress now throwing the whole burden of defense upon him, rarely found a quorum (seventy-one) of its members in their places, by which to do business,—and indeed, such a quorum was only found when the President wished a measure passed to aid him in the execution of his authority or seat him more firmly in power. In a few days after the withdrawal of his resignation, he, finding that he was not the successful candidate in the election for President, which had been held by the different states on the 15th of May, and the votes for which were to have been counted by congress on the 15th of June, by a singular stroke of policy induced the passage of a decree through that body postponing the counting of the votes until January, 1848;—thus giving him full authority until that time.* In his gigantic schemes for the defense of the city, in which he seemed almost to create *materiel*, he spared for himself and his subordinate officers no time or labor. Those of the latter whose efforts did not second promptly the directions of his energetic mind, were removed, imprisoned, or banished. Among those thus proscribed within the space of a few days, were Generals Bravo, Rincon, Miñon, Canalizo, Urrea, Garcia Condé, Requena, Morales, Almonte, Ampudia and Arista. The latter was sent to close confinement in the castle of Acapulco, on the Pacific. Ampudia was banished from the capital

* The result of this election had been as follows: Aguas Calientes, Sonora, Sinatoa and Tamaulipas, voted for Gen. Almonte. Querétaro, Oajaca and Michoacán, for Gen. Herrera. Mexico, Guanajuato and San Louis Potosi, voted for Senor Angel Trias. Puebla, for Sr. Ocampo. Chiapas, for Sr. Anaya. Chihuahua, for Gen. Santa Anna. Durango, for Sr. Elorriaga. Zacatecas voted for Sr. Lafragua. Jalisco, Coahuila, Vera Cruz, Tabasco, Yucatan, New Leon, the Californias, and New Mexico, did not vote.

to Cuernavaca, while Rincon, whose offense, like that of Bravo, consisted in expressing his opinion that a defense of the capital against the Americans could terminate only in disaster and defeat—by changing his expressions, recovered the favor of the President, and was restored to his command. Bravo by following the same course was also restored. The places of those of this list of general officers, as well as many inferior ones, who did not in like manner recover their standing, were filled by others anxious to execute the mandates of the President, and dependent on him, many of them having newly given commissions; eight hundred and thirty-five of these being issued in the course of a single month from the 24th of May.

Governor Trigueros resigned the direction of affairs within the city, and his place was quickly filled by the President, who appointed Ignacio Gutierrez, governor of Mexico, in his stead. That general also was directed to take charge of the fortifications already mentioned as erecting by command of Santa Anna, at the Peñon, a hill within the limits of the federal district, and which commanded the neck of land between lakes Texeuco and Xochilmileo, over which came the road from Puebla, the main thoroughfare to the city. Beside the fortifications at the Peñon and Mexicalzingo, another hill on the same neck, other strong works were erecting at Chalco, Ayotla, Guadalupe, Chapultepec, Molino del Rey, Churubusco, and all other assailable points on and at the termination of the long causeways that enter the city in various directions. These fortifications, under the command of Generals Gaona, Martinez, Polomina, Anaya, the former president-substitute, and other officers, were constructed by the combined efforts of the citizens and of the troops; overlooked by the untiring vigilance of Santa Anna himself. To labor on these defenses, the *leperos*, or immense beggarly population of the city, were driven at the point of the bayonet. Upon these works the artillery was rapidly mounted, of which already seventy pieces had arrived from Acapulco, San Luis Potosi, and other places; while from the extra bells of the city many more had been cast at Chapultepec and at Toluca;—every foundry in and about the city was compelled, night and day, to continue the manufacture of shot and shell.

On the 6th of June the command of General Alvarez, who before this time had been for years nearly independent of the general government, in the south of Mexico, arrived at the capital with a force of nearly eight thousand men. These, with the troops that had arrived from other places, swelled the army of Santa Anna to upward of thirty thousand. In this number were included many officers, and large bodies of soldiers, who had been taken prisoners by the Americans at

Vera Cruz and Cerro Gordo; and liberated, on their parole given, not to serve again during the war. This parole they were compelled to break, and were forced into the ranks. This number included also the GUARDIA NACIONAL (National Guard), or rather, militia of the city, which, with other battalions of the same nature, formed rather more than one third the force. With the arms that had been collected in the city, and those procured by vigorous efforts from other sections, a sufficient supply was obtained for the equipment of this body: considerable sums of money, too, had been obtained by the commander.

It will be remembered, that one of the first acts of Santa Anna, when reassuming the direction of government, after his return from the battle of Cerro Gordo, was to annul the decree of Anaya, which restricted the liberty of the press; but now his course was altered; the papers of the city had reviewed the battle of Cerro Gordo in a severe and condemnatory manner; and had also spoken of the president's banquet, given to his friends on his birth-day, the 13th, in terms not complimentary to him, as a patriot, in a suffering community; they had also loudly condemned his arbitrary proceeding with regard to the generals imprisoned or banished from the capital; but more immediately, had severely reviewed his action in creating and promoting so many officers, for their participation in the former battles, pronounced by them to be disgraceful and ruinous. Santa Anna, finding their influence strong against him, yielded to their remonstrances, in behalf of the imprisoned generals, and on the 14th June issued a decree granting amnesty for all political offenses; but having yielded this point, finding them still more bold in their opposition, on the 18th he arrested several of the editors, and packed them off, *sans ceremonie*, to Acapulco and San Luis Potosi; he then established a severe censorship over the whole press, forbidding the appearance of any article reflecting upon the generals, or on the army itself, or on the measures of government; or any items upon the progress of the formidable fortifications constructing, as the knowledge contained in these became immediately known to the Americans. Finding these restrictions not sufficiently to answer his purpose, on the 11th of July he suppressed the issuing of all the papers in the capital, save the "*Diario del Gobierno*," which published only such matter as was agreeable to himself.

Having thus arbitrarily silenced all opposition, Santa Anna turned again his undivided attention to the defenses, while not an opponent in the city dared to open his lips against any measure adopted. The governor of the state of Puebla remonstrated against the act of General Canalizo's taking military jurisdiction over the civil power of that

state ; but, acting under the command of Santa Anna, and supported by General Alvarez, who with part of his force had moved as a corps of observation upon the enemy, Canalizo paid no attention to the governor's remonstrance. The peace party, which, while the President had allowed the liberty of the press, had increased in numbers, and had boldly spoken their sentiments through their paper, *El Razonador*, now were heard from no more. The slightest intimation of such an opinion consigned him who entertained it to a prison.

In this state were now the city of Mexico and the Mexican army, expecting an attack from the invaders, on or about the last of that month (June), when a new turn was given to their prospects by the submittal to the President, through the English minister, of propositions of peace from the government of the United States, with the information, also, that a commissioner, N. P. Trist, clothed with all necessary powers to conclude such a peace, was in the camp of Gen. Scott, at the city of Puebla, and awaited the action of the Mexican government. As this was beyond the province of Santa Anna, it was referred to the action of the Mexican congress, but was for many days untouched for want of a quorum. This quorum of members of congress could not be assembled, to act upon the propositions of peace until the 13th of July ; when, seventy-four members having met, the subject was laid before them. They, after a short consultation, being determined to throw all the responsibility on Santa Anna, passed a resolution to this effect—that it belonged to the executive, under the constitution, to receive all ministers, and other public agents, and to make treaties of peace, alliances, &c. ; that the functions of congress were limited to the approving or disapproving of these treaties, when made, and that, consequently, until a treaty should be submitted in due form, congress could take no constitutional action on the subject.

Having passed this resolution, the members of congress individually withdrew ; nor could they again, at that time, be collected by the President, who, finding himself in an awkward dilemma, issued a proclamation, stating to the people the action of congress in the matter, and complaining that his own hands were tied by the decree of 20th April, which not only positively forbade him from making a treaty with the Americans, but declared any person a traitor who should do so ;—he recommended the repeal of this decree, stating, that as the letter of the American minister was courteous, the dignity of the Mexican nation required that an answer should be given to it, &c. This proclamation had no effect ; the members of congress had scattered, determined to take no part of the responsibility thus resting on Santa

Anna, for peace or war. He, however, to shift some part of the same from himself, called a council of general officers of the army, and placed the subject before them. This council, thus without precedent called upon to act upon such a momentous subject, decided "that it was inexpedient to enter into negotiations for peace, until another opportunity should be offered to Mexico to retrieve her fortunes in the field."

The commander-in-chief, adopting their decision, in fault of one from congress, the constitutional authority, dismissed informally the propositions of peace, which had been before him for near a month. In a few days after this decision, on the 31st of July, his force was increased by the arrival of General Valencia from San Luis, with five thousand troops of the line and thirty-six pieces of artillery, all eager for the approaching contest. The army now at the city amounted to thirty-two thousand men, well armed and equipped; of these over twenty thousand were regular troops: in position, he had one hundred and seventeen pieces of artillery. Valencia, who had thus opportunely arrived, had left San Luis Potosi, with his division, upon his own responsibility. He had succeeded General Villamil in command of the army stationed there to prevent the southward movement of the North American force, then at Saltillo and Monterey, under General Taylor. Finding no probability of the latter general advancing, Valencia, with his force, moved on to the capital, where, shortly after his arrival, he found work to do. But, leaving the consideration of the city of Mexico, now fully prepared for the expected attack of the Americans, let us turn to the operations, in the mean time, of the guerrillas, on the route from Vera Cruz to Puebla; the capture of Tobasco, &c., all happening before the time to which the termination of this chapter has brought us.

CHAPTER IV.

MOVEMENTS of Guerrilla Forces—Padre Jarauta's attack upon the Train under Col. McIntosh—Americans reinforced by Gen. Cadwallader—Americans evacuate Jalapa—Defeat of Guerrillas, at La Hoya—Capture of Tobasco—Expected movement of Gen. Taylor toward San Luis Potosi—Release of Prisoners by Santa Anna—Sent to Tampico—Received by Gen. Garay—Attempted Rescue—Defeat, &c.

SUPPORTED by General Alvarez, near Puebla, the guerrilla forces, under Padre Jarauta, an enthusiastic priest, and Juan Chimaco Rebolledo, an active partisan leader from Jalapa, made vigorous attacks upon all detached parties of the enemy, and harassed every train and command on its way from the coast, at Vera Cruz, to join the headquarters of the Americans at Puebla. The road, as it passed around the bases of the mountains, or through deep and lonely glens and mountain-passes, offered, at various points, favorable situations for ambuscades and surprises. Aware, from their friends in Vera Cruz, of the time when any train of the enemy would start from the latter place, also of its strength and contents, their preparations were made accordingly.

On the 6th of June, Padre Jarauta attacked a large train, under the command of Col. M'Intosh, carrying several hundred thousand dollars in specie, with an escort of five hundred infantry and dragoons, at a point about twenty miles from Vera Cruz, and six from the National Bridge. The result of this attack was highly satisfactory to the guerrillas. They drove back the advance of the enemy—attacked the main body vigorously both in front and flank—captured twenty-eight wagons, two hundred pack-mules, and seventy-five thousand dollars worth of army stores, with a loss to the Americans of forty killed and wounded, while the guerrillas suffered but little. The shattered train collected itself together, and would have fallen entirely into their hands, but for the rapid march of another body of the enemy to their aid, under General Cadwallader, five hundred strong, with two pieces of artillery, from the gates of Vera Cruz. That general, taking the command of the Americans, Jarauta and Rebolledo were disappointed in their efforts to make any further serious impression upon them, not so much from the fact of their reinforced strength, for the guerrilla force

were more than correspondingly increased by the accession of all the available population of that whole section of country, but by the able arrangements of Cadwallader, and the firm front of the Americans, now with their confidence restored.

Jarauta's vexation was further increased at this time, by the escape of a minor train of the enemy, not two hundred strong, which unbeknown to him was advancing from the opposite direction, going to Vera Cruz. This little train, aware of its danger, pushed on in the night, crossed the national bridge with a loss of only five men, and arrived safely in McIntosh's camp, immediately before the arrival of Cadwallader from the opposite course.

Driving off the pack mules, securing part of the plunder from the captured wagons, and destroying the latter, the guerrillas fell back, and made a strong stand at the heights of the national bridge, where, after a lapse of four days, on June 10th, they were vigorously attacked in their turn by Cadwallader's forces. The defense of the height was firm; but the invaders, by the assistance of their artillery, cleared the ground, with a loss to the Mexicans of forty men. Jarauta retreated, and again attacked Cadwallader near Cerro Gordo; but, overcoming all obstacles, the American commander, fighting foot by foot, reached Jalapa, and joined his forces to the garrison there. Although thus disappointed, Padre Jarauta did not relax his exertions; but stimulating his men with the hope of complete victory, and encouraging them by a recital of the partial success which had thus attended them, and exhorting them, even by their religious enthusiasm, to give no quarter to the heretical invaders, he made immediate preparations for another assault, provided now as he was, with captured ammunition, arms, and stores.

On the 17th of June, another force of the Americans, under Maj. Gen. Pillow, of 1800 men, with six field pieces and one hundred and twenty-five wagons, issued from the gates of Vera Cruz, on their march to the interior. This column suffered much from the heat of the sun in toiling over the sand hills in the neighborhood of Vera Cruz, and when over them, were immediately assaulted by the guerrillas in waiting.

Jarauta kept up this attack daily upon the heavy column, causing it much loss, until at Calera, nine miles beyond the national bridge, he assaulted it with all his strength, but was repulsed with a loss of nearly one hundred men: he continued to harass the enemy, until the column had passed Cerro Gordo, and arrived near Jalapa. Here leaving the enemy to be attacked on the road between Jalapa and Perote by Gen. Alvarez, this indefatigable military priest returned to the vicinity

of Vera Cruz, and visiting the country above Alvarado, was near being captured by the American governor of that place. Capt. Mayo, hearing of him, had promptly ascended the river in the U. S. steamer of war *Petrita*, with a force, in pursuit; but the wily priest escaped.

Gen. Scott having directed the concentration of his forces, the city of Jalapa was evacuated by the American garrison of twelve hundred men, under Col. Childs, on June 17th. That officer uniting his force to that of Gen. Cadwallader, the column, then two thousand two hundred strong, with six pieces of artillery, marched for Perote, surprised and routed on its march the guerrilla forces at the pass of La Hoya, on the 20th. The guerrillas fought well, but were also exposed to an attack of a force of Americans, from the castle of Perote, in their rear; they were completely routed, and Cadwallader's command arrived without loss at Perote, where it remained until joined by that of Gen. Pillow, which passed through Jalapa after its evacuation. The two bodies united, were of such strength, that no resistance was made to their further advance to Puebla.

On the 16th, the city of Tobasco, against which an unsuccessful attempt had before been made, fell into the hands of the invaders; being taken by the naval force under Commodore Perry, who, with a squadron, composed of the war steamers *Spitfire*, *Scorpion*, *Vixen*, and *Scourge*, the bomb vessels *Etna*, *Vesuvius*, and *Stromboli*, brig *Washington*, and schooner *Bonita*, appeared off the mouth of Tobasco river on the 15th, and proceeded up, arriving before the town on the 16th, after having landed below a thousand seamen and marines, with ten pieces of artillery. The Mexican forces retreated after one volley, though the forts kept up the fire upon the steamers for some time afterward. Much pains had been taken to place Tobasco in a proper state of defense; the points for which had been admirably chosen, but were not defended with gallantry. Under the regulations of a tariff established by themselves, the Americans opened this, together with the other captured seaports, to the commerce of the world.

Tobasco, however, after being occupied for six weeks by the Americans, was abandoned on account of its unhealthiness. Every port on the gulf, from the mouth of the Rio Grande to Yucatan, was before this in possession of the enemy; while those on the Pacific were under a vigorous blockade.

The American army in the northern provinces, under Gen. Taylor, was daily expected to move to the southward, to join that of Gen. Scott, taking in its route the populous city of San Luis Potosi. To oppose such a movement the Mexican army of the north was

stationed in the city of San Luis Potosi, and Gen. Valencia appointed to the command, which he assumed on the 5th of June.—Gen. Mora y Villamil, who had before been in the command of this army, was ordered to the capital.—A short, pithy, and not very pleasant correspondence had been carried on by the latter general with Gen. Taylor; in which he, on May 10th, by authority of President Anaya, under a flag of truce, inquires of General Taylor, “Whether his (Taylor’s) wishes and instructions are to prosecute the war in conformity to the laws of nations, and as war is conducted by civilized nations, or as barbarous tribes carry it on among themselves; it being understood, that Mexico is disposed and resolved to accept the manner which is proposed or carried out, and awaits the result, in order to dictate its measures accordingly.”

To this singular and impertinent inquiry, the bluff old American general immediately responded, in a communication dated May 19th, by expressing his surprise at the interrogation, declining to give a direct answer to a question so insulting—refers to his own acts, and those of his army—speaks of the single massacre of Mexicans as having been immediately preceded by one of those cold-blooded acts of assassination of American soldiers, which had followed each other successively, from the time the American troops first entered upon the soil of Mexico, and finally, throws back the threat contained in the close of Villamil’s letter, &c.

The government of Mexico had neglected to perform its stipulations entered into between Santa Anna and Gen. Taylor after the battle of Buena Vista, with regard to the exchange of prisoners, and had left those prisoners in confinement, in the city of Mexico, until the present month June,—although more than 10,000 Mexican prisoners had, in the mean time, been liberated by Gen. Scott, after the capitulation of Vera Cruz and the battle of Cerro Gordo. Now, while it was determined to liberate these American prisoners, by a singular act of Mexican faith, the government released the soldiers alone, keeping the officers still in captivity. On the 5th of June, these soldiers, one hundred and eighty in number, were sent from the city toward Tampico under charge of a Mexican colonel, and about twenty lancers. Although the American army was nearer at Puebla, this long route to Tampico was selected, rather than deliver them to swell the ranks of Gen. Scott. Their being sent toward Tampico, led afterwards to an engagement between the Mexican forces near that city and a part of the American garrison, the result of which, being unfavorable to the Americans, who were driven back into the city with a loss of one fourth their number, greatly elevated the spirits of the Mexican nation,

being blazoned at the capital as a great victory achieved over the invaders.—The body of prisoners after twelve days march arrived at Huejutla, one hundred and twenty miles in the interior from Tampico. Here they were delivered over to Gen. Garay, in command of the Mexican forces there.—That officer detained them, treated them kindly, and sent back to the capital for instructions concerning them. Impatient of this delay, eight of them escaped, and after a variety of adventures arrived in Tampico. Learning that the remainder were thus detained, Col. Gates, commander of that city, immediately dispatched a force of one hundred and twenty men, with a field piece, under command of Col. De Russey, to rescue them. This Quixotic expedition, leaving Tampico on 12th July, was allowed by Gen. Garay to advance four days march, until, at Rio Calaboso, at a point midway between Huejutla and Tancayoca, eight miles from each, he had his numerous troops stationed in ambush, and suddenly attacked the Americans in front; quickly followed that by another attack on their flanks and their rear,—capturing all their provision train, and surrounding them.—They fought desperately for an hour, when their ammunition for the field piece being exhausted and their situation perilous, they forced their way back to Tancayoca, fired upon the whole way;—into this village they entered, their progress disputed at every step. Here they supplied themselves with a little ammunition, and in the night, during a heavy storm, silently continued their retreat, thus escaping another party in their rear, by which they must have been captured. They were overtaken and harassed all that day and the succeeding one by the troops of Garay—who then would inevitably have made prisoners of the whole of them but for the arrival of a reinforcement of one hundred and sixty Americans, with two pieces of artillery, ammunition, and provisions. This reinforcement had been sent on a steamer, by the American commander at Tampico, on the first news of their reverses. In this expedition, the American soldiers fought with their accustomed bravery; but the extreme folly with which it had been planned by the commander at Tampico, and the unmilitary style in which it was carried out by its commanding officer, rendered it an object of derision to the Mexicans, and of great annoyance to the invaders.

CHAPTER V.

APPROACH of the Americans from Puebla—Preparations for defense—Battle of Contreras—Defeat of Valencia—Battle of Churubusco—Defeat of Rincon—The Armistice—Congress retires to Toluca—Political Parties—Puros—Moderados—Monarquistas—Attack on American train—Renewal of hostilities—Review of actions of Santa Anna—Battle of Molino del Rey—Its results—Destruction in both armies—Scott's movements in feigning attack on the southern gates of Mexico—Canonade of Chapultepec—Battle of Chapultepec—Results—Defeat of Bravo—Santa Anna outgeneralled—Attack on the gates of Belen and San Cosme—Capital evacuated by night—Surrender of the Capital to the American army—Immediate insurrection of the people—Recapitulation of the actions and losses of the American army.

ALL expectations that the terms of Trist, the commissioner of the United States, would be accepted by the Mexican government, having vanished, the Americans made immediate preparations for an advance from the city of Puebla. On the arrival there of a body of reinforcements, two thousand five hundred strong, from Vera Cruz, under Gen. Pierce, Scott set forward on August 6th. This advance of the enemy was immediately made known, by express, to Santa Anna; and, according to previous arrangement, the information was communicated to the Mexican army and people in the city of Mexico, by the discharge of the heavy alarm-gun in the Plaza in front of the Cathedral and palace. This piece of artillery was discharged at twelve o'clock on the 9th, and as its report, circling out from the Plaza, echoed and reverberated through the streets and along the squares of the immense city, it was answered by innumerable shouts of exultation even, that the Americans were at hand, and that the long-expected contest would now take place. Instantaneously all business, all trade, and every mechanical operation ceased; the professional man and the artisan, the gentleman and the beggar, dropping every other consideration, seized upon their arms; the roll of drums called out all the regular troops, and, as rapidly column after column displayed itself in brilliant uniform, and fine equipments, their great number and regular appearance reflected confidence from one corps to another, and among the whole mass of the citizens. The whole body of thirty-two thousand men were under arms in a short time; but only part of them left the city

on that day, the 9th, for the lines of defense, which, now finished and admirably constructed, were from eight to nine miles from the capital.

On the 10th, no business of any description was attempted, in the city; not a shop, save those at which provisions and coal were sold, was allowed to be opened—every one was engaged in the martial scene, so imposing, that for many years the people of that city, famed for military display, had not seen so gorgeous a pageant. Battalion after battalion of troops were reviewed, and passing under the critical eye of Santa Anna, with loud music, and a proud step, swept on to the city gates. The veterans of San Luis Potosi, who had fought at Buena Vista, now under General Valencia, challenged the admiration of all for their soldierly bearing. Many different corps, which had met the Americans at Palo Alto, Monterey, Vera Cruz, and Cerro Gordo, though those fatal defeats were impressed upon their remembrances, now, having confidence in their position, their strong lines of defense and their numbers, were eager to meet the invaders again. The troops heretofore untried, who never as yet had seen *los Americanos*, were loud in their expressions of the effect of their prowess, yet to be exerted. The *Pintos*, or southern Indians, under Alvarez, who for years had been regular cavalry soldiers, now in their rude style, well equipped and mounted, pressed along in clattering columns, with gay flags on their forest of lances, only fearful that they should not find, among the smaller force of the Americans, opportunity for each to exercise his deeds of valor. But when the four battalions of Victoria, Hidalgo, Independence, and Bravo, a body two thousand strong, wheeled in the large Plaza, and with martial step passed in review of the commander-in-chief, surrounded by his glittering staff, the excitement and tumultuous enthusiasm was at its height;—from these troops much was expected. They were known by the name of *Polkas*—they were gentlemen soldiers—from the ranks of higher life alone were they drawn; and the Castilian blood warmed in their cheeks, at the remembrance of the deeds of their ancestors, famous in history. To see and to encourage all the other troops, assembled to defend the capital, as in deep and serried columns they moved for the gates, filling the long streets with their steady succeeding lines of infantry, accompanied by the heavy tread of the close bodies of cavalry, and the rumbling wheels of the heavy cannon, and wagons of ammunition, the ladies had crowded in thousands to their balconies and windows, waved their white handkerchiefs and extended their hands to the soldiers, and given many smiles of approbation to the officers prancing along below—but when the *Polkas* appeared, no effort was too much for the

ladies to make, giving their smiles, their happiest looks of encouragement and recognition, from the balconies, housetops and windows unto their brave fathers, brothers, lovers, and acquaintances in the ranks below. Flowers and tokens were showered down upon them, and happy smiles of pride met them at every glance; every soldier was recognised, and he determined to render himself illustrious in the approaching conflict. The bells rang cheerily, as the columns, already victorious in anticipation, moved out to the lines. These four battalions of the *Polkas* were ordered to the fortifications at the Peñon, on the national road, by which the Americans were advancing, as the strength of the battle was expected there. They were supported by the brigade of Gen. Perez; in all, seven thousand men, and twenty-five cannon; while the other brigades were stationed at Mexicalzingo, Chmrbuseo, Chapultepec, and the other defenses—save the splendid force of Gen. Valencia's veterans, which, five thousand strong, with a fine park of twenty-three pieces of brass artillery, supported by two thousand of the best of Gen. Alvarez's cavalry, was held as a movable reserve, ready to act on any part of the line of defense that should be most severely attacked by the American columns; and the remainder of Alvarez's cavalry were ordered to march and keep near the rear of the advancing Americans, to fall upon them in their retreat. All the other divisions and brigades were stationed in the fortified lines.

On the 10th, from the fortified heights of Peñon could be seen, in the distance, the approaching column of the advance of the American army. This army, in four columns, was ten thousand five hundred strong, with one thousand wagons, and a large park of artillery. Approaching near the heights, so strongly fortified before them, the American engineers could be seen in rapid movement, taking surveys of the works, while the army halted at Ayotla, awaiting the result of these reconnoissances. On the 12th the second column of the Americans arrived, followed, on the 13th, by another, and the rear was brought up by the fourth column, on Saturday, the 14th. During these days the American engineers, supported by bodies of cavalry, continued their observations; and although they were seen, the Mexican forces, confident of success in any attack, disturbed them not, but remained quietly within their strong lines.

On the night of Sunday, the 15th, Gen. Santa Anna received positive assurance, from his scouts, that the Americans, having reconnoitered the route to the southward, around the lake of Xochimilco, had that afternoon sent a strong advance, under Gen. Worth, in that direction. Seeing that the object of the invaders was to complete the

circuit of the lake, and approach the city along the western bank of this water, by the villages of San Augustine and San Antonio; and that notwithstanding the main force of the Americans was still encamped before the Peñon, the attack of that fortification was in reality abandoned by them, he immediately altered his arrangement to meet this new design of the enemy. Early, therefore, on the morning of Monday, the 16th inst., he ordered the four battalions of Polla, mentioned, to march rapidly by the nearer route around the northern bank of the lake and forestall the invader in their expected occupation of San Augustine, taking with them many of the pieces of artillery already mounted at the Peñon. He ordered Gen. Perez's brigade to march to Churubusco, in the rear of San Augustine and San Antonio, and on the second defence, where were a fort at the bridge or causeway, and a fortified church of great strength.—He directed Gen. Valencia's brigade, with its accompanying artillery and cavalry, to move toward the left also, to meet any diversion of the Americans. On Tuesday, the 17th, the battalions passing through Churubusco and San Antonio, arrived at the village of San Augustine, but upon examination of the place, it was found impracticable to make there a successful stand;—consequently, Santa Anna ordered the force to fall back three miles on the causeway to San Antonio, the latter place being nine miles from the city. Following close upon the rear of the retiring Mexican force, and skirmishing with them, came into San Augustine, the American advance, which had now arrived in sight of the domes and spires of the "Halls of the Montezumas," without experiencing any loss of moment; having been, however, slightly attacked on this day and the day previous, by the Mexican cavalry, who, as has been mentioned, had been detached to operate on their rear.

On Wednesday morning, the 19th, the advance of Americans proceeded up the causeway toward the capital, but in coming near San Antonio, were received with a discharge of artillery that stopped their progress.—They took possession of the hacienda of Carrera, under the fire of San Antonio, while their engineers reconnoitered the immense field of rugged volcanic stone which lay to their left, or *Pedregal*, which had always been considered by the Mexicans, impassable to troops, on account of its sharp surface, rough precipices, and deep chasms. Notwithstanding this belief, the force of Gen. Valencia, 7,000 strong, had been stationed on the hill of Magdalena, on the western side of this *Pedregal*, near the village of Contreras. When the advance parties of the Americans appeared in view, in search of a road by which they might turn the strong fortifications

of San Antonio, Valencia, at 2 P. M., opened upon them a heavy fire from his twenty-three pieces of artillery, and continued it until evening. The fire was returned from three mountain howitzers. The American general taking position on one of the volcanic hills, directed the operations, and by his increase of force showing Valencia that his intention was, if possible, to force the position, that general immediately sent an Aid to Santa Anna at San Antonio, requesting reinforcements.—Santa Anna moved late in the afternoon to his support, with Gen. Perez's brigade, and other corps, amounting to five thousand men, with three pieces of light artillery. He encountered the Americans, drawn up near the camp of Valencia, but strange to say, did not attack them—firing only a half dozen shots from the fieldpieces upon the enemy, posted between himself and Valencia, he sent around them Aids with orders to the latter, to abandon his position, and fall back to San Angel on the second line of defense. To this Valencia sent a positive refusal, stating that his position was advantageous, his entrenchments strong, and his troops full of ardor to defeat the enemy. Gen. Santa Anna, however, on the approach of night, repeated his orders, and then fell back with his reinforcements to San Angel, four miles. Here meeting with another heavy detachment under Gen. Rangel, who had been sent from the city, by Gen. Lombardini, upon the demand of Valencia, Santa Anna halted these, and ordered the brigade of Gen. Perez to its former position at Churubuseo, in front of the main body of the Americans, while he reinforced the position of San Antonio, immediately in front of Churubuseo, under command of Gen. Bravo, leaving Valencia's force unsupported. That officer continued his heavy cannonade upon the enemy, and at night distributed honors and promotions among his officers and troops, who eagerly awaited the approach of the next day to recommence their fight. Valencia posted strong pickets around his position, especially guarding with two hundred horse the mouth of a ravine which led from the front round to the rear of his camp. Such then was the positions of the armies on the night of the 19th. While the Mexican army was thus lying upon the field, and at their fortifications, within the city the Divine Host or Sacramental Bread was exposed upon the altars of the churches, and was bowed before by the thousands of inhabitants remaining there, the old men, the decrepit and sick, and the whole female population, all praying devoutly for the success of their army. The feeling within the city was deep and intense, but hope and confidence were in the ascendant.

The night was dark and a heavy rain added to its gloom. Owing to this, Valencia's pickets were withdrawn, and the American general,

Smith, in command of the forces near Contreras, during the storm silently proceeded up the ravine and placed his troops upon either flank and in the rear of Valencia; and in the morning, a little after sunrise, he made a furious attack with musketry and the bayonet upon all sides of Valencia's position; and after a severe contest of seventeen minutes, completely routed him, with a terrible destruction of killed and wounded;—taking all the fine park of artillery and the ammunition—dispersing the cavalry completely—securing over a thousand prisoners; and most of those who escaped, did so by disencumbering themselves of their arms, which were thickly strewed all along the road. This defeat of Valencia was equally unexpected to both Santa Anna and Scott—the latter being at the time on his march with Worth's and Quitman's divisions, to reinforce Gen. Smith; and the former also *en route*, with Gen. Rangel's brigade and other corps, to the support of Valencia.—Counter orders now were issued to both these supporting and opposing forces. Scott ordered his reinforcements back to attack San Antonio, while Santa Anna, sending Rangel's brigade into the city, ordered Gen. Bravo to fall back from San Antonio and make a firm stand at the strong works of Churubusco.

Such was the disastrous result of the battle of Contreras, in which the Mexicans had been put to complete rout, and the first prestige of defeat spread through the army. Santa Anna having ordered Valencia to be shot, wherever found, that general presented himself no more before his commander-in-chief; but passing through Mexico, continued his retreat with a few attendants, to Toluca. Valencia had been ambitious of defeating the enemy by himself, and proof against him was nearly positive, that his eyes were fixed upon possession of the power enjoyed by Santa Anna. Hence his disobedience of the orders of that general, and the apathy of the latter in affording him assistance on the evening of the 19th, is accounted for. From the city of Mexico the rising smoke had been seen, and the reports of the artillery heard in the distance, but the exulting hopes of the inhabitants were dampened shortly after by the tidings of defeat.

The object of Gen. Santa Anna now being to repulse the Americans in their advance, at the strong works of Churubusco, for this purpose he ordered Gen. Rangel's command again from the city, and with them, the brigade of Gen. Perez, the battalions of Bravo and Independence, under Gen. Bravo, which had fallen back from San Antonio, and a body of Alvarez's cavalry, the battalion of American deserters, and part of the fugitives from Valencia's rout—comprised in all, over twenty thousand men.

At Churubusco, four miles from the city gates, the river, of the same name, runs eastwardly toward the lake, and partakes of the nature of a canal, having straight and level banks; at the point crossed by the causeway which leads to San Augustine, was a heavy stone bridge, at the extremity of which, toward the advancing foe, a strong fort was erected. Three hundred yards to the west of this fort, the massive church, or rather convent of San Pablo was situated, in the hamlet of Churubusco; while, in the rear of this and of the convent, and still further westwardly, was a large stone hacienda; this was the right of the Mexican army—the left extended down the canal.

The victorious American column, direct from the battle at Contreras, advanced through Coyoacan, to the attack of these works, while the body which had been held in check by Gen. Bravo, at San Antonio, seeing that post about to be evacuated, pressed the retreating column so closely, that they captured some of the artillery, and took part of Alvarez's troop prisoners; and, keeping up with the column in its retreat, arrived at Churubusco, as soon as that body. Part of the Mexican force which thus fell back from San Antonio, were the battalions of Hidalgo and Victoria (Polkas), from whose intrepidity much was expected; but which expectation they now grievously disappointed, by strangely neglecting to stop at Churubusco, and continuing directly on, for the city gates, which they entered—not having fired a single shot; here these gallant fellows dispersed to their homes, leaving their comrades without to stand the brunt of the battle.

The body of Americans that thus had followed up Bravo was under command of Gen. Worth; they were checked for a moment, by the fire of artillery, but then attacked the *tête de pont*, or fort at the head of the bridge, with ardor; while the other column advancing from Coyoacan, under Gen. Twiggs, attacked the church at Churubusco, which was strongly fortified, and garrisoned partly by the other two Polka battalions, of Independence and Bravo, who fought well, having no possible chance to retreat. These were supported here by the artillery, of which about twenty pieces were in position at the various points, and the fire of which made great havoc in the ranks of the Americans. Another column of the latter, under the command of Gen. Shields, attacked the hacienda at the Mexican right; this column, consisting of five regiments, was received by nearly seven thousand troops of the line.

The battle, at one P. M., raged from right to left. The roar of artillery and musketry was so unremitted, that the words of command given on either side could scarcely be heard. A dense cloud of smoke hung over the field, and the ground was strewed with the dead and

dying. The conflict between these thirty thousand combatants continued unabated in violence for two hours, when the Mexican right gave way before the impetuous attack of Shields, and in retreating, crowded along the narrow causeway to the capital, in confused, dense masses. Shortly after, the column on the left, under Gen. Worth, triumphantly assaulted the fort at the bridge, routing Perez's troops, and capturing the artillery and colors; and finally, in twenty minutes after, Gen. Rincon, in command of the fortified church, finding himself surrounded, and with no means of retreat, surrendered to the division of Gen. Twiggs.

Gen. Perez's forces fled in confusion to the Peñon. The battalions of Independence and Bravo, and the legion of American deserters, were taken prisoners, which with the portions of other battalions, were in number about two thousand, among them Generals Rincon, Anaya, Garay, and a due proportion of inferior officers of all ranks. During the day the loss of the Mexicans at Contreras, San Antonio, and Churubusco, killed, wounded, and prisoners, had been above five thousand men.—Forty-five pieces of artillery had fallen into the hands of the Americans, and more ammunition than had been used by the American army since the landing at Vera Cruz.

The rout at Churubusco was complete and terrible. In the hot pursuit of the crowd of fugitives, the American cavalry dashed up to the gates of the city, and came near capturing Santa Anna himself. At night only 11,000 troops were collected within the walls, the shattered remnant of the 32,000 that had entered the actions in the morning. Those that thus remained, were discouraged and frightened, and had the American army entered the gates, the city in its tumultuous alarm and confusion, must have surrendered with hardly a show of resistance. The streets were crowded with fugitives, officers hastening to and fro, and women running wildly, shrieking in excess of fear, or hurriedly searching for those of immediate connection with them, now among the missing, either dead or prisoners.—The Mexicans in the city, writing to their friends in the country, describe the fearful scene within the capital that evening and the following night, as being one of confusion, tears, shrieks, and distress unbounded. In some parts of the city, alarm after alarm, that the Americans were coming, was raised by the panic-struck soldiers, and men, women and children, fled for their lives. In stupid amazement and terror, the crowds on the house-tops and steeples, had beheld the flying battalions pursued by the enemy, crowding into the gates, while groans and cries arose from the streets as the multitude of wounded were hurried along. It was a fearful night.

The loss to the Americans during this memorable day, in killed and wounded had been a little over a thousand, most of which had been at and about Churnbusco.—At Contreras their loss had been light.

It had not been the intention of the American general to enter the city after the first battles, he determining to allow the Mexican government yet another opportunity of negotiating a peace, while yet the capital remained in their possession.—On the morning of the 21st, Señor Pacheco, minister of internal and foreign relations (secretary of state), dispatched an embassy, consisting of Gen. Villamil and Señor Aranjóis, to the head-quarters of the enemy at Coyoacan, requesting an armistice of thirty hours, to collect the wounded and bury the dead, &c. The terms proposed were rejected by Gen. Scott, who, however, sent in other proposals, given below, which led to the armistice, of which much has been said by both nations. The correspondence is given in full.

HEAD-QUARTERS OF THE ARMY OF THE U. S. AMERICA, }
Coyoacan, August 21, 1847. }

To His Excellency the President and General-in-chief of the Republic of Mexico.

Sir : — Too much blood has already been shed in this unnatural war between the two great republics of this continent. It is time that the differences between them should be amicably and honorably settled ; and it is known to your Excellency, that a commissioner on the part of the United States, clothed with full powers to that end, is with this army. To enable the two republics to enter on negociation, I am willing to sign, on reasonable terms, a short armistice.

I shall await with impatience until to-morrow morning, for a direct answer to this communication ; but shall in the mean time, seize and occupy such positions outside of the capital, as I may deem necessary to the shelter and comfort of this army.

I have the honor to remain, with high consideration and respect, your Excellency's most obedient servant,

WINFIELD SCOTT.

To this letter the following reply was returned, by the Mexican secretary of war :

MINISTRY OF WAR AND MARINE, }
Mexico, August 21st, 1847. }

To His Excellency Gen. Winfield Scott, Commander-in-chief of the Army of the U. S. America.

Sir : — The undersigned, Minister of War and Marine of the Government of the United States of Mexico, is instructed by his Excellency the President, commander-in-chief, to reply to your communication, in which you propose to enter into an armistice, with a view to avoid the further shedding of blood between the two great republics of this continent, for the purpose of hearing the propositions which may be made for this purpose, by the commissioner of his Excellency the President of the United States of America, who is at the head-quarters of the American army.

It is certainly lamentable, that, in disregard of the rights of the Mexican republic, the shedding of blood has become inevitable, between the first republics of the Ameri-

can continent : and your Excellency, with great propriety, qualifies this war as unnatural, as well on account of its origin as the antecedents of two people identified by their relations and their interests. The proposition of an armistice to terminate this scandal, has been received with pleasure, by his Excellency the President, commander-in-chief, as it will enable the propositions to be entertained which the commissioner of the President of the United States may make for the honorable termination of the war.

Accordingly, the President, commander-in-chief, directs me to say to your Excellency, that he accepts the proposition to enter into an armistice, and for this object he has appointed the brigadier generals, D. Ignacio Mora y Villamil and D. Benito Quijano, who will be present at the time and place which may be designated.

His Excellency also instructs me to communicate his satisfaction that the army of the United States should occupy convenient and fitting quarters, trusting and hoping that they will be out of reach of the fire of the Mexican fortifications.

I have the honor to be with high consideration and respect, your Excellency's most obedient servant,

ALCORTA.

THE ARMISTICE.

The undersigned, appointed respectively, the three first by Maj. Gen. Scott, commander-in-chief of the armies of the United States, and the two last by his Excellency D. Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna, president of the Mexican Republic, and commander-in-chief of its armies, met with full powers, which were duly verified, in the village of Tacubaya, on the 22d day of August, 1847, to enter into an armistice for the purpose of giving the Mexican government an opportunity of receiving propositions for peace, from the commissioner appointed by the President of the United States, and now with the American army, when the following articles were agreed upon :

1. Hostilities shall instantly and absolutely cease between the armies of the United States of America and the United Mexican States, within thirty leagues of the capital of the latter States, to allow time to the commissioner appointed by the United States, and the commissioner to be appointed by the Mexican Republic, to negotiate.

2. This armistice shall continue as long as the commissioners of the two governments may be engaged in negotiations, or until the commander of either of the said armies shall give formal notice to the other of the cessation of the armistice, and for forty-eight hours after such notice.

3. In the mean time, neither army shall, within thirty leagues of the city of Mexico, commence any new fortification or military work of offense or defense, or do any thing to enlarge or strengthen any existing work, or fortification of that character, within the said limits.

4. Neither army shall be reinforced within the same time. Any reinforcements in troops, or munitions of war, other than subsistence, now approaching either army, shall be stopped at the distance of twenty-eight leagues from the city of Mexico.

5. Neither army, nor any detachment from it, shall advance beyond the line it at present occupies.

6. Neither army, nor any detachment or individual of either, shall pass the neutral limits established by the last article, except under flag of truce, bearing the correspondence between the two armies, or on the business authorised by the next article ; and individuals of either army, who may chance to straggle within the neutral limits shall, by the opposite party be kindly warned off, or sent back to their own armies under a flag of truce.

7. The American army shall not by violence obstruct the passage, from the open

country into the city of Mexico, of the ordinary supplies of food necessary for the consumption of its inhabitants, or the Mexican army within the city; nor shall the Mexican authorities, civil or military, do any act to obstruct the passage of supplies from the city or the country, needed by the American army.

8. All American prisoners of war remaining on the hands of the Mexican army, and not heretofore exchanged, shall immediately, or as soon as practicable, be restored to the American army, against a like number, having regard to rank, of Mexican prisoners captured by the American army.

9. All American citizens who were established in the city of Mexico prior to the existing war, and who have since been expelled from that city, shall be allowed to return to their respective business or families therein, without delay or molestation.

10. The better to enable the belligerent armies to execute these articles, and to favor the great object of peace, it is further agreed between the parties, that any courier with dispatches that either army shall desire to send along the line, from the city of Mexico, or its vicinity, to and from Vera Cruz, shall receive a safe conduct from the commander of the opposing army.

11. The administration of justice between Mexicans according to the general and state constitutions and laws, by the local authorities of the towns and places occupied by the American forces, shall not be obstructed in any manner.

12. Persons and property shall be respected in the towns and places occupied by the American forces. No person shall be molested in the exercise of his profession; nor shall the services of any one be required without his consent. In all cases where services are voluntarily rendered, a just price shall be paid, and trade remain unmolested.

13. Those wounded prisoners who may desire to remove to some more convenient place, for the purpose of being cured of their wounds, shall be allowed to do so without molestation, they still remaining prisoners.

14. Those Mexican medical officers, who may wish to attend the wounded, shall have the privilege of doing so, if their services be required.

15. For the more perfect execution of this agreement, two commissioners shall be appointed, one by each party, who in case of disagreement, shall appoint a third.

16. This convention shall have no force or effect, unless approved by their excellencies the commanders, respectively of the two armies, within twenty-four hours, reckoning from the 6th hour of the 23d day of August, 1847.

J. A. QUITMAN, Maj. Gen. U. S. A. IGNACIO DE MORA Y VILLAMIL.

PERSIFER F. SMITH, Bvt. Brig. Gen. BENITO QUIJANO.

FRANKLIN PIERCE, Brig. Gen. U. S. A.

A true copy of the original.

G. W. LAY, U. S. A., Military Secretary to the General-in-Chief.

HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY U. S. AMERICA, }
Tacubaya, August 23, 1847. }

Considered, approved, and ratified, with the express understanding that the word "supplies," as used the second time, without qualification in the seventh article of this military convention (American copy) shall be taken to mean, as in both the British and American armies, arms, munitions, clothing, equipments, subsistence (for men), forage, money, and in general all the wants of an army. That word "supplies," in the Mexican copy, is erroneously translated "*riveres*," instead of "*recursos*."

WINFIELD SCOTT,
General-in-Chief of the U. S. A.

The following is a translation of Santa Anna's ratification :

NATIONAL PALACE OF MEXICO, }
August 23, 1847. }

Ratified, suppressing article nine, and explaining article four to mean that the temporary peace of this armistice is to be respected in the capital, and at a distance of twenty-eight leagues around the capital, translating the word "supplies" by "recursos," meaning everything the army may stand in need of, except arms and ammunition.

ANTONIA LOPEZ DE SANTA ANNA.

HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY U. S. AMERICA, }
Tacubaya, August 24, 1847. }

I accept and ratify the foregoing qualification, added by the President General of the Mexican Republic.

WINFIELD SCOTT.

A true copy of the original.

G. W. LAY, U. S. A., Military secretary to the General-in-Chief.

HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY U. S. AMERICA, }
Tacubaya, August 23, 1847. }

To his Excellency, the President and General-in-Chief of the Mexican Republic :

SIR—Under a flag of truce I send Lieut. Semmes, of the U. S. Navy, who will have the honor to exchange, with such officer as may be appointed for the purpose, the ratification of the military convention that was signed yesterday by commissioners from the American and Mexican armies.

I particularly invite the attention of your excellency to the terms of my ratification, and have the honor to remain, with high consideration and respect, your excellency's most obedient servant,

WINFIELD SCOTT,
General-in-Chief of the U. S. A.

NATIONAL PALACE OF MEXICO, }
August 23, 1847. }

To his Excellency, the Commander-in-Chief of the United States Army :

The letter of your excellency, of this date, was received, in which you are pleased to state, that Lieut. Semmes, of the U. S. Navy, will exchange, with another officer appointed for that purpose, the ratification of the military convention, which was signed yesterday by the commissioners of the Mexican and American armies, and calls particular attention to the terms of the ratification.

His excellency, the president, orders the undersigned to inform your excellency, which he has the honor of doing, to send the ratification within the time agreed upon by the armistice, and also to call the attention of your excellency, to the terms of the ratification by his excellency the president.

LINO JOSE ALCORTA,
Minister of State, and of War and Marine.

On the night of the 20th, the advance of the Americans had halted at Portalis, two and a half miles from the southern gate of the city. On the 21st they advanced, and took possession of Tacubaya ; while the various detachments under Generals Worth, Pillow, Twiggs, and Quitman remained quartered in the villages of Coyoacan, Mixcoac, San Augustin, and others. They exhibited to the inhabitants of these

villages, the same principles of order and moderation which, in other cities captured by them, had made their presence to be regarded, by the better class of Mexicans, rather as an advantage, than a terror. While the negotiations were going on, they busied themselves only with the burial of the dead, both their own and the Mexican, and in attending to the wounded of both parties, and guarding their numerous prisoners. While extending the greatest kindness to all these of Mexican race, they treated with great severity those of the legion of St. Patrick, which was entirely composed of deserters from the American ranks, and who, having been placed in the front of the battle at Churubusco, by Santa Anna, were taken prisoners by their former comrades. Fifty of these were hung, as soon as their cases could be investigated by a hastily organised court martial.

At the time of the appointment of commissioners to conclude the armistice, Pacheco had issued a summons to each member of congress, (one hundred and forty in number), to assemble immediately, to consider on the propositions for peace; but of the whole number only twenty-five obeyed the summons. The members of congress having placed all the responsibility upon Santa Anna, would not take any part of it on themselves. Individually retiring to Toluca, seventy of them met, and in informal session resolved, that they would listen to no proposals for peace, while the army of the United States threatened the capital, occupied the finest cities of the republic, or her fleets blockaded the Mexican ports. This done, they dispersed. Gen. Valencia, then there, amused them and the people, by issuing high-sounding proclamations, breathing war to the last, and condemning the conduct of the commander-in-chief. But, of little moment to Santa Anna, upon whom the burden now rested, were either the resolutions of the deputies, or the proclamation of Valencia. He was in a peculiar situation; and though his acts appear to indicate that he was at heart inclined favorably to consider the proposals of the United States, yet he was prevented from expressing this opinion by the circumstances in which he was placed. These seemed to be more perilous than ever. The state of political affairs within the city was more distracted. Previous to the arrival of the American army before the city, he had by the strong force of military power, silenced the utterance of every sentiment in opposition to himself; but, although the various parties were no longer permitted to express their opinions publicly, they had cherished them with increased rancor toward him; and now, in the confusion incident to defeat, they were the more loudly spoken, because of their previous suppression.

The opinions and movements within the city of Mexico, always have governed the nation. Like the revolutions in Paris, which have immediately changed the whole face of France, so it has been in Mexico. As a general rule, he who was supported by the capital, was fully in power over the whole country; and so uncertain has been the tenure, that in the provinces neither the governments nor the people have been enabled positively at any day to say, under what executive officer the nation was, or what principles or form of constitution was the foundation of their action. Within this city now, was confusion in parties, and great bitterness of expression between them. Let us review those whose actions bore so potently upon the conduct of Santa Anna; a glance at their particular aims, will enable the reader to see the principles which had actuated the great parties of this unhappy nation, for some years before this period.

First, the *Puros*, democrats, opposed the views of Santa Anna. This party, comprising many, and the more influential, of the middle class, and many of the lower, regarding the United States as a pattern republic, worthy of imitation, have for years held the following opinions: Being Roman Catholics, in common with the whole population, they were in favor of curtailing the immense revenues of the church to such an amount as would support the worship and ceremonies alone; would reduce the immense number of the priests, curates, and friars, to that which should suffice only for the performance of their worship. Believing, also, a large standing army to be injurious to their civil liberty, and seeing, too, that by it all the revolutions were accomplished, they made no concealment of their opposition to it, and would reduce it to a small establishment; they would, also, promote the elevation of the lower classes, encouraging equality, liberty, freedom of thought and political expression, and, the more liberal among them, would even permit much more toleration in religion.

This party were cordially united against Santa Anna—whose opinions were so directly contrary—and at this time strenuously opposed a peace, the effect of which would be to place him permanently in power. The governor of the city, Don Francisco M. de Olaguibel, was of this party, and united, at this moment, the influence of it against the peace—issuing a strong manifesto in opposition.

Diametrically opposed to the *Puros*, were the *Monarquistas*.—These, strong in influence, but not in numbers, observing the miserable condition to which Mexico had been reduced under republican government, and seeing no hope of the termination of revolutions and turmoils, were strongly in favor of a monarchy, and contended, that a king alone could bring prosperity to the country, believing that the

people of Mexico were not suited for a republic. They were also in favor of the monopolies and privileges enjoyed by the church. Their opinions were ably supported by a large portion of the clergy, and, as has been mentioned, warmly approved of by the late archbishop of Mexico. At the head of these Monarquistas was Gen. Mariano Paredes y Arrillaga, or, as commonly called, Paredes; who, returning from exile in disguise, landed at Vera Cruz on the 14th of August, and escaped from there before the American authorities had notice of his arrival. He had proceeded to Mexico, and was now concealed in the neighborhood, having offered his services to Santa Anna, but had been proscribed by him.

This party of Monarquistas were bitterly opposed to Santa Anna, and still more so, to peace with the United States. Under the government of their leader, Paredes, the war had been commenced, and they wished it to continue.

The third great party was the *Moderados*. These took a middle stand, were opposed to the ultra-democratic opinions of the Puros, and equally so to the aristocratic principles of the Monarquistas. Some of this party were friendly to Santa Anna, but by no means the majority; although his political tenets, if indeed he had any, were thought to be more in accordance with the opinions of this, than either of the other parties, yet they were distrustful of him; and while many were openly in favor of peace, they dreaded that he should make it. The party was strong, comprising many of the better portion of the middle classes, the inferior clergy, &c. They were not so bitterly opposed to the United States as the others, and at heart some of them would even be happy to be annexed to that power, in hopes of enjoying the blessings of a good government.

The leperos, or beggarly population of the capital, who in proportion exceed those of any city of the new world, were clamorous against a peace, though they acted from no principle, and belonged to no party whatever. These, moved entirely by impulse, knew nothing of the causes of the war, and cared nothing for its results, could they but be amused with accounts of victories upon paper.

Santa Anna at this crisis, sustained by neither of these parties, relied only on the army, of which he had still, within the city, fifteen thousand men, having again collected the shattered remnants of defeated battalions; the army was attached to him, as it had always been.—During the progress of the negotiations, which occupied the time from the 22d of August to the 6th of September, not a soldier arrived at the beleaguered capital for its assistance—not a dollar was received by the government. It was now impossible for the execu-

tive to think of concluding a peace with the commissioner of the United States, and this was made apparent a day or two after the armistice had commenced; but every day of that armistice was valuable to him, and his instructions to the Mexican commissioners were, as he himself states in a letter to one of his friends, to prolong it to the utmost, until he should have time to reorganise his troops, and establish their confidence. The number of these now, exclusive of the Polkas who had acted so disgracefully and were disbanded, was much superior, in fact double, the available forces of the Americans; and knowing the severe losses which had befallen them, he hoped yet, with the aid of the population, to prevent them from entering the city. Every consecutive hour added to his advantage, while it was correspondingly disadvantageous to the Americans.—While the commissioners for peace met and deliberated, and while the American general was even sanguine of its completion, the wily Mexican had new fortifications constructing every night, with surprising rapidity, but in direct violation of the terms of the armistice. An American train, in accordance with those terms, under the escort of a body of Mexican cavalry, entering the city for provisions, were attacked and stoned in the street, by the *leperos* and lower orders of *puros*, incited, from the balconies and windows, by individuals of standing and influence—the same valiant gentlemen, who, as Polkas, had made such a rapid retreat from Churubusco, before the battle commenced. This outrage was in immediate view of Santa Anna, who, while he made no effort to save the defenseless teamsters, apologised to Gen. Scott, for that and another similar outrage—the sacking of a warehouse within the walls, in which provisions had been collected for the American army. This apology prevented the armistice being terminated by the latter general on the instant, and gave to Santa Anna what he most needed—time. He issued a decree, forbidding any foreigners or others from going to the American camp without a permit from himself; and another, ordering the Polkas to reappear in the ranks—but the latter had no effect. He had the support of the English and Prussian ministers—that of congress he looked not for. He convoked a council of army officers, and as usual, after a long recapitulation of his services, tendered to them his resignation; but they refused to hear of it—hoped that peace might be made—but were ready in the contrary event to give up their lives in his support. To this refusal he yielded with apparent good grace. As his determination again to fight became known within the city, the swarming crowds of that densely populated capital, turned out each night, to work on the defenses at and near the city gates, and the strong fortress of Chapulte-

pec. The Polkas, even, could do this ; and women, in multitudes, assisted, being driven on by fear, and excited by the most unfounded reports of American outrage and cruelty.

For a few days only, could the American general be thus deceived ; and a decisive step was taken by him toward bringing the matter to a conclusion on the 6th of September, by his sending under a flag of truce, the following communication to Santa Anna :

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF UNITED STATES, }
Tacubaya, Sept. 6, 1847. }

To his Excellency, the President and General-in-Chief of the Mexican Republic :

The 7th and 12th articles of the armistice or military convention which I had the honor of ratifying and exchanging with your excellency, on the 24th ult., stipulate that the army under my command, shall have the privilege of obtaining supplies from the city of Mexico. There were repeated violations of these articles soon after the armistice was signed, and I have now good reasons for believing that within the last twenty-four hours, if not before, the 3d article of the same convention was violated by the same parties. These direct breaches of good faith give to this army a full right to commence hostilities without giving any notice. However, I will give the necessary time for an explanation, satisfaction, or reparation. If these are not given, I hereby formally notify you, that if I do not receive the most complete satisfaction on all these points before twelve o'clock to-morrow, I shall consider the armistice as terminated from that hour.

I have the honor to be your excellency's obedient servant,

WINFIELD SCOTT.

To this Santa Anna made the following reply :

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF MEXICAN REPUBLIC, }
Mexico, Sept. 6, 1847. }

To his Excellency, General Winfield Scott, Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the United States :

By the note of your excellency under this date I learn, with surprise, that you consider that the civil and military authorities of Mexico have violated articles 7, 12 and 3 of the armistice which I concluded with your excellency on the 24th of last month.

The civil and military authorities of Mexico have not obstructed the passage of provisions for the American army ; and if at times their transmission has been retarded, it has been owing to the imprudence of the American agents, who, without having a previous understanding with the proper authorities, gave occasion for popular outbreaks, which it has cost the Mexican government much trouble to repress. Last night, and the night before, the escorts for the provision train were ready to start, and were detained only because Mr. Hargous, the agent, desired it. The orders given to suspend the intercourse between the two armies were addressed to private individuals, and not to the agents of the army of the United States, and were intended purposely to expedite the transmission of provisions to the army, and to confine the intercourse to that object exclusively. In return for this conduct, your excellency has prevented the owners or managers of the grain mills, in the vicinity of the city, from furnishing any flour to the city—which is a true breach of the good faith your excellency had pledged me.

It is false, that any new work or fortification has been undertaken, because one or two repairs have only served to place them in the same condition they were in on the day the armistice was entered into, accident or the convenience of the moment having caused the destruction of the then existing works. You have had early notice of the establishment of the battery covered with the mud walls of the house of Garry, in this city, and did not remonstrate, because the peace of two great republics could not be made to depend upon things grave in themselves, but of little value compared to the result in which all the friends of humanity and of the prosperity of the American continent take so great an interest.

It is not without great grief, and even indignation, that I have received communications from the cities and villages occupied by the army of your excellency, in relation to the violation of the temples consecrated to the worship of God, to the plunder of the sacred vases, and to the profanation of the images venerated by the Mexican people. Profoundly have I been affected by the complaints of fathers and husbands, of the violence offered to their daughters and wives; and these same villages have been sacked, not only in violation of the armistice, but of the sacred principles proclaimed and respected by civilised nations. I have observed silence to the present moment, in order not to obstruct the progress of negotiations which held out the hope of terminating a scandalous war, and one which your excellency has characterised so justly as unnatural. But I shall desist offering apologies, because I cannot be blind to the truth, that the true cause of the threats of renewing hostilities, contained in the note of your excellency, is that I have not been willing to sign a treaty which would lessen considerably, the territory of the Republic, and not only the territory of the Republic, but that dignity and integrity which all nations defend to the last extremity. And if these considerations have not the same weight in the mind of your excellency, the responsibility before the world, who can easily distinguish on whose side is moderation and justice, will fall upon you.

I flatter myself, that your excellency will be convinced, on calm reflection, of the weight of my reasons. But, if by misfortune, you should seek only a pretext to deprive the first city of the American continent of an opportunity to free the unarmed population of the horrors of war, there will be left me no other means of salvation, but to repel force by force, with the decision and energy which my high obligations impose upon me.

I have the honor to be your excellency's humble servant,

ANTONIO LOPEZ DE SANTA ANNA.

The treaty referred to above, by Santa Anna, or rather the propositions of Mr. Trist, on behalf of the United States, for such a treaty, had been comprised in eleven articles, in substance as follows :

Art. 1st. Stipulated that hostilities should cease upon the ratification of the treaty.

2d. Provided for the liberation of all prisoners of war, with the promise of the United States to recover Mexican prisoners from the Comanches, and other Indian tribes.

3d. Declared that all hostilities should be immediately suspended; and on the ratification of the treaty, all captured cities, forts, castles, &c., with their artillery, within the limits of Mexico, as defined by the treaty, should be given up to the Mexican government.

4th. Defined the boundary line to be, the *Rio Grande, the southern and western boundary of the province of New Mexico, the river Gila to the Colorado, the latter river to the gulf of California, then a line down the middle of that gulf to the*

Pacific. (Thus ceding to the United States, Texas, New Mexico, Upper and Lower California.)

5th. That the United States, making no claim for the expenses of the war, should pay to Mexico \$——.

6th. The United States agreed to pay, to the amount of three millions of dollars, the claims of her citizens against Mexico, both those decided, and those that should yet be decided, which should have originated prior to May 13th, 1846.

7th. Stated, that in case of difficulty in such decision, the archives of each government shall be at the disposal of the commissioners.

8th. Gave the United States the exclusive right of way across the isthmus of Tehuantepec, to and from the Pacific ocean.

9th. Provided that all goods introduced into Mexico by the United States, should be free from confiscation, or from the payment of any duties.

10th. Declared that the treaty of commerce of 1831, should be renewed between the two countries for eight years.

11th. Stipulated that this treaty of peace should be approved by the President of the United States, and the ratifications thereof exchanged in the city of Washington within — months, or as soon as possible.

These propositions had been submitted to the Mexican commissioners on the 27th of August; but, after much deliberation, it was not until the date of the communication of the American general, before noticed, that they offered any definite proposals of their own. The American commissioner had, however, agreed to withdraw the claim to Lower California. On the 6th, seeing that no more time was to be gained, Santa Anna instructed the commissioners to present to Mr. Trist, their counter project, or *ultimatum*, as directed by himself. This was contained in fifteen articles, and in substance as follows :

Art 1st. Was a desire, merely, of lasting peace between the two republics.

2d. Demanded all prisoners to be given up; all Mexicans, prisoners to Indians, within the limits of the United States, to be liberated and returned to their homes, by the latter power.

3d Required all forts, towns, territory, and artillery taken by the United States, to be returned to Mexico.

4th. Defined the dividing line to *commence in the gulf of Mexico, opposite the southern mouth of Corpus Christi bay, thence, across that bay, to the mouth of the river Nueces, up that to its source, thence on a line direct to the southeastern corner of New Mexico, thence along the eastern boundary of New Mexico northwardly to the 37th parallel of latitude, thence west along that parallel to the Pacific.* (Thus ceding to the United States, Texas to the Nueces, and a small strip of Indian territory, with a little of Upper California.) Mexico agreeing not to found any settlements between the Rio Grande and the Nueces.

5th. Required that the United States should pay to Mexico the sum of \$——, at the city of Mexico.

6th and 7th. Stipulated that the United States should pay the claims of her citizens upon Mexico.

8th. To the same effect as the 6th article of Mr. Trist's proposition.

9th. Provided that the Roman Catholic religion should be respected in the ceded territory.

10th. Provided that citizens of Mexico might return from the United States without being taxed.

11th. That all grants of land made by Mexico, in the ceded territory, should be respected.

12th. That the United States should solemnly bind itself, not to admit, hereafter, the annexation to itself of any territory, by this treaty now within the limits of Mexico.

13th. All goods in the ports occupied by the Americans, to pay the regular Mexican duties, or be confiscated.

14th. *That the government of the United States should fully satisfy all claims of Mexican citizens for damage done to their property, by the Americans, during the war.*

In addition to this, the guaranty of England was required, that the United States should perform the stipulations of the treaty.

These proposals, as had been foreseen, were rejected by the American commissioner. On the following day the negotiations closed, and both armies prepared for an immediate renewal of hostilities. On the same day, Santa Anna issued an address to the nation, stating that the enemy were about to recommence hostilities; that they had offered to give advantageous offers of peace to Mexico, but, that the propositions which were tendered by them, would have destroyed the republic, and converted it into a miserable colony of the United States, &c., and energetically exhorted all to fly to the defense of their country.

Gen. Herrera, as commander of the forces of the city, also issued an address to the clergy and the people, beseeching the former to use all their influence in sustaining the defense of the capital—exhorted the latter to assist in the defense, from their house-tops and windows, if the Americans should gain footing in the city, advising them to use all means of destruction that could be made available—fire and sword.

In the afternoon, Santa Anna sending a strong division of infantry and cavalry to Chapultepec and Molino del Rey, awaited the attack of the enemy.

Again were the contending armies ready for the strife. Again had the efforts of the Mexican commander placed the capital in such a state of defense, as to present a formidable front to the invaders; twice had it been completely in the power of the American general—after the battle of Cerro Gordo, and after that of Churubusco. At either time, on account of the excessive alarm and confusion of the inhabitants and soldiers, it might have been taken by Scott with a trifling loss. But, as Santa Anna had raised the capital from its alarm and despair, after the battle of Cerro Gordo, and had already cost the American general the tenth part of his number to make his present stand, so now, during

the few days consumed by the armistice, he had again placed himself and his forces so as to cause the invaders yet a greater sacrifice of life, in accomplishing their object.

The historian, in impartially reviewing the efforts and actions of Santa Anna during the year that had elapsed from the time he landed at Vera Cruz from exile, to the present moment, when he again stands recovered to meet Gen. Scott, as well as in his subsequent actions, must accord to him, notwithstanding his uniform ill fortune, the character and ability of a general of the first degree. How much had he accomplished in one year; how well had his plans been laid. Not a single error of judgment can be pointed to, in his course for defense; while not an error was committed by his opponents, but that he had been ready to turn to advantage. Permitted by them, he had landed alone, when called back to his distracted country; he found that country embroiled by the actions of his political and personal enemy, Paredes, in a war with a powerful nation, whose armies, already victorious, were advancing on her territory, while her own troops, under minor and inferior generals, were retreating terrified. He found distraction within the nation, confusion and revolution in the capital itself, and the armies of the enemy pouring in from different directions. He had raised army after army. His sudden movement and attack on Gen. Taylor, at Buena Vista, was most judicious. He was repulsed by the strong arrangements of position of the latter general, and the unconquerable courage and gallantry of the American soldiers. The conflict was bloody and long; and who will say, that as far as Santa Anna's arrangements are considered, they were not planned to the best advantage. But he had not men like those of the American force. His retreat, his masterly movements to conceal his repulse, his encouragement of his soldiers, his advance upon the capital, his able manner of silencing the revolution then in agitation there, without offense to either party, uniting the troops of both to his own—his rapid movements to, and arrangements at, Cerro Gordo; his energy and skill in taking advantage of the error of Scott, in that general's discharge of troops and subsequent delay at Puebla—his arrangements for defense, at the capital—all show his energy and generalship in the most favorable light. The destruction among the invaders before the strong works of Churubusco, even by part of his force, after the defeat of the morning, shows what, in all probability, would have been the result, had Valencia obeyed his orders, and fallen back to that point with his seven thousand troops and twenty pieces of artillery, and he then to have fought with fresh and full forces, without the discouraging prestige of defeat which there rested upon his army

With what tact had he again taken advantage of the delay of the American general, after that defeat, and now stood once more on the defensive. The conclusion is irresistible, that had Santa Anna been supported by officers and soldiers equal, or anywhere near equal, to those commanded by Scott, the latter general's delay at Puebla would have been fatal to him—even the delay of the armistice would have been so, as subsequent events have proved. It must be admitted, that defeated as Santa Anna has been, the fault has not been with him. Compare his generalship taken with his resources with that of the victorious American, and he suffers not in the comparison. The latter general, with all of his able plans, and triumphant success, still made some serious errors; but the effects of these were effaced by the gallantry of his subordinate officers and soldiers, every one of whom was a host in himself; freely, when necessary, giving up his life in the contest—never thinking of retiring. He was supported by a host of officers, generals in themselves; backed by a strong consolidated government, whose fleets lay near, and who poured in supplies of every sort; encouraged, and supported, too, by other victorious columns in different sections of the country; his own army though very small, was composed of the best material the world could produce.

Santa Anna made no mistakes. Once, only, was he completely deceived and out-generaled—in the attack on the city, subsequent to this. But the effect of his judicious arrangements and superior generalship, was frustrated entirely by the incompetency, insubordination, and cowardice of his inferior officers, who looked to their own advancement rather than to the good of the nation, and also, the inefficiency of his soldiers. His armies, formed so hastily, were in part but a miscellaneous rabble, defeated in heart, even before being brought into the field; and his regular troops were rendered inefficient, by the conduct of their leaders; backed by no one, no government to provide supplies—government, commander, commissary, quartermaster, engineer, all himself; a victorious enemy everywhere around him—his supplies stopped, his resources destroyed, and, more disadvantageous than all, disaffection, discord, and opposition from distracted parties, even in his very presence, and throughout the entire nation.

The conclusion is unavoidable; and an enemy must even accord to him the possession of extraordinary ability and great generalship; and it must be apparent, that had he possessed the undivided support of the nation, with men, money, means, but more especially such soldiers as those which opposed him, his success would have been such, that his name would have stood high in the roll of military heroes.

Santa Anna, expecting the attack of the Americans at or near Cha-

Chapultepec, on the 7th placed a large portion of his troops in that fortress and its neighborhood, under Generals Bravo, Perez, Alvarez, and Leon; while the remainder were posted at and in the vicinity of the southern gates of the city.

Chapultepec is a high mound, situated about three miles southwest of the city, connected with it, at the *garita*, or sentry box, of Belen, by a long causeway, with wide ditches on either side, and an aqueduct, running along the top. A similar causeway runs due west from the city, at the gate of San Cosme, and passes out some distance north of Chapultepec, but is connected with that by a shorter causeway running to the foot of the mound. These passages were barricaded at several points. Chapultepec, itself, has been noted in the history of Mexico, as the ancient residence of the Montezumas. For a thousand yards further west from the fortress which crowned its summit, the sloping ground was shaded by a grove of timber, and here were the identical huge cypresses which stood in the time of Cortes. At the extremity of this grove were the large and strong buildings of Molino del Rey, or King's Mill; a line of fortifications extended northwest from this, for four or five hundred yards, to the Casa Mata—a very strong old Spanish fort. Gen. Perez, with the 11th and 12th regiments of the line and four pieces of artillery, was placed at this point; while the cavalry of Gen. Alvarez was stationed a little farther to the left, being on the extreme flank. On the right, at Molino del Rey, Gen. Leon commanded a heavy force, consisting of the battalions of Union, La Patria, Mina, a body of troops from Puebla, another body from Querétaro, and detachments from other quarters. Gen. Bravo commanded at the fortress of Chapultepec, now in the rear, but within effective range of any part of the lines. The whole force here was upward of ten thousand men; while Santa Anna, confident of an attack upon that point, observed and directed every movement.

Nor was he wrongly directed by his judgment; for, on the next morning, the 8th, at the first dawn of day, drawn up on the plain below, in front of the whole line, and on the left flank, were the bodies of Americans under Gen. Worth, supported by three batteries of artillery, which, as soon as the light enabled them to see, opened upon the latter position.

The fire thus commenced a little after five A. M., and was rapidly kept up against the Mill and Casa Mata. After this fire had been productive of much injury, especially at the Mill, the Americans assailed the works on the right, center, and left. The attack on the center was made by a storming column under Major Wright, which,

by its impetuous charge, forced the lines of Mexican troops back, and took possession of the four field pieces; but, by the efforts of Gen. Leon, they were driven back in disorder, and with loss. Being reinforced by part of Gen. Cadwallader's brigade, they again rapidly advanced to the same point; while upon the left of the Mexican line, another column, under Col. Garland, supported by a battery of artillery, rushed with impetuosity, exposed to the fire from Chapultepec. At the same moment, another heavy column, under Col. McIntosh, supported by a field battery, also, furiously attacked the position of Casa Mata, on the right. Gen. Perez received this assault with firmness, and his destructive fire strewed death among the ranks of the brave assailants.

The battle now raged furiously, and the firing was more rapid and constant, than at Churubusco. The destruction on both sides was great, and for a long time the result was extremely doubtful. Santa Anna now ordered Gen. Alvarez, with his large body of cavalry, supported by infantry stationed at the extreme right, to make a charge on the flank and rear of the Americans. Alvarez commenced his movement for a charge, which, if he had made with vigor, would inevitably have secured the victory for the Mexicans; but he was met by a rapid fire of grape and canister from Duncan's battery, on the American left, and opposed vigorously by a small force of dragoons, under Major Sumner; and, though he might have overcome both, retreated. But soon after this, the assaulting column of Americans, of the 5th, 6th, and 8th regiments of infantry, against which he had been ordered to move, were routed and driven back from Casa Mata, by the fire of Perez.

Seeing the perilous situation of his troops, and astonished at the strong defenses, of which he had not known, Gen. Scott, who had now approached the scene of action, with all haste ordered other forces, under Generals Pillow and Pierce, to reinforce Gen. Worth, for the troops of the latter amounted to but little over three thousand. But before these reinforcements could arrive, having to come from two to four miles, Gen. Perez withdrew his force from Casa Mata; and soon after, the other two American columns, on the center and left, having routed the command of Gen. Leon—after the death of that officer—all the Mexican troops, including those under Gen. Alvarez, were in full retreat for Chapultepec and the city, under the fire of the American field batteries, as well as from the captured guns. Many were killed; among them Colonels Balderas, Huerta, and Gelati; a vast number wounded and dispersed, and eight hundred taken prisoners. The main body retreated to Chapultepec, but many in their flight threw

away their arms, most of which, with ammunition, &c., fell into the hands of the Americans. About one half of the whole force arrived at Chapultepec, one fourth dispersed to the city, and the rest were killed, wounded, or prisoners. The Americans also suffered severely, losing, in killed and wounded, about eight hundred men, among them fifty officers.

The battle was over by 9 A. M. An immediate attack upon Chapultepec was expected by Santa Anna; but to his great surprise, the Americans collected their dead and wounded, blew up the fortress of Casa Mata, and at 12 M., had entirely evacuated the ground, and retired to Tacubaya. The Mexican forces, the same evening, reoccupied the position they had held in the morning.

The result of the battle was of little advantage to the Americans. The object of Gen. Scott had been, simply to destroy the cannon foundry, which he was informed, existed at the Mill—but nothing of importance was found there.

The fact of the Americans falling back, and leaving the hard contested ground, immediately led the Mexicans to believe that the object of attack had been the fortress of Chapultepec; but that, from the desperate resistance, and consequent loss, the enemy were obliged to retire. They would not believe that the capture of the mill alone had been the only object. Consequently, Santa Anna, from the possession of the ground, claimed a victory. Proclamations and circulars, announcing the fact, were sent to all the departments forthwith, and their reception occasioned the most extravagant joy.

There was no rejoicing in the American camp that night. They had won a brilliant victory after one of the most strongly-contested actions of the war; but they felt that nothing had been gained by their loss of lives and blood. The order for the battle was most severely commented upon by the subordinate officers, as indeed, it had been when first issued, the previous evening.

Although Santa Anna had so well divined the purpose of the American leader in preparation for the assault upon Molino del Rey, he was not so successful in penetrating his next movement. Gen. Scott, determining to attack the city at the western gates of Belen and San Cosme, for the purpose of deceiving the Mexican general, arranged, in open daylight, his forces, on the 11th, before the southern gates of Piedad and San Antonio, with part of his artillery, while he sent a smaller force to take possession of the previously captured position of Molino del Rey, as though he was about to attack Chapultepec; and in furtherance of this plan, on the same night he planted three batteries, and, on the morning of the 12th, opened a heavy fire upon the latter

fortress, which was kept up during the day, with much injury to the works and loss to the garrison; among others, severely wounding Gen. Don Nicolas Soldaña, whose loss, at this time, was much felt. Seeing the cannonade so incessant, Gen. Bravo concluded that the main attack was to be at that point, and sent to Santa Anna, in answer to a message from the latter, for reinforcements. The commander-in-chief sent to him the battalion of San Blas, under Col. Xicotencatl, which was posted in the woods, outside of the fortress, not exposed to the enemy's fire. Toward evening, however, Santa Anna becoming convinced that the fire upon Chapultepec was only a feint of the American commander, and that the real attack would be at the southern gate, withdrew this battalion to support that position: to which he also moved all his available artillery, leaving, however, the ten pieces at Chapultepec, to return the fire of the enemy—the only force left in the fortress being the 11th regiment of the line, under Gen. Perez, and the battalion from Toluca. The latter, however, being excessively panic-struck from the effect of the American fire, deserted their posts whenever opportunity offered.

The force of Americans, under Gen. Twiggs, before the southern gates, appeared as if momentarily about to make an assault upon the city, while their fire of shot and shell was kept up without intermission, until near evening, when the fire upon Chapultepec was by far the most severe. This circumstance still confirmed the opinion of Santa Anna, that this last was but a feint—thinking that after the severe loss the Americans had sustained at Molino del Rey, that they would make no serious effort in that quarter. He visited Chapultepec in the evening, communicated with Gen. Bravo, and promised him assistance, if it should be needed, and again returned to the southern gates.

The fire of the American artillery, which, in addition to their own pieces, had been increased by so many captured guns, having been kept up with great vigor during the day, ceased at night, and both armies slept upon their arms—thus ended the 12th.

Now came the final struggle. On the morning of the 13th, at half past five, the American artillery reöpened its fire before the southern gates, and also from their batteries to the west, upon Chapultepec; this fire was returned with spirit. Santa Anna again placed the main body of his troops, near the southern gate of San Antonio, and awaited the attack. But before this gate, notwithstanding the heavy fire of artillery kept up, was only one division of the Americans, under Gen. Twiggs; and even a brigade of that, Gen. Smith's, was silently on its march toward Chapultepec, where, already in position for an attack, were three divisions of the Americans, under Generals Pillow, Quit-

man, and Worth, while Scott himself was near, directing the operations; thus, only a single brigade, that of Col. Riley, remained before the southern gate, keeping Santa Anna in suspense, and withdrawing his attention from Chapultepec. The commander of that fortress, Gen. Bravo, seeing the strong disposition of the enemy about him, was yet of a different opinion from Santa Anna, and still believing an assault was about to be made in force upon that place, sent to him for reinforcements, and received the brigades of Generals Rangel and Peña Barragan; but these were directed only to take position at the foot of the hill of Chapultepec, as a precautionary measure. To the earnest requests of Gen. Bravo, that they would come into the fortress, they answered that they could only do so by the orders of the President. This order not being given, Bravo was left to defend himself.

At a little before 9 A. M., the heavy firing of the enemy upon the fortress momentarily ceased (the concerted signal of attack), and immediately the division of Gen. Pillow moved from near Molino del Rey on the west, and came up through the wood, carrying, with the bayonet, a strong redoubt, situated about midway, and, impetuously advancing upon the ditches and walls of the fortification, though suffering heavily, threw up their scaling ladders, and rapidly following each other, poured upon the walls.

At the same time, another division, under Gen. Quitman, quickly approaching from the southeast, forcing their way over a long causeway, cut with ditches and fortified with barricades, overcoming all obstacles, and strewing their path with dead and wounded, rushed impetuously up that side of the hill, and entering the outer inclosure of the fortress, pressed into the desperate encounter, scaling the walls, and seemed to disregard the murderous fire poured upon them, and to court only death.

Simultaneously, at the command of Scott, Gen. Worth rapidly advanced from the west, where he had been stationed in rear of Pillow, passed around the northern base of the hill, joining a part of Pillow's division, already engaged with the right flank of the force under Generals Rangel and Barragan, routed it, and attacking their main body, sent them flying along the causeways in retreat toward the city, at the same moment that the fortress above, after nearly three hours defense, had yielded to the assault of Quitman and Pillow. Numerous flags of the Americans were rapidly appearing from the battlements, amid the long and joyous shouts of the victors in full possession.

Gen. Perez was killed, Gen. Bravo and a thousand of his command were taken prisoners, with all the artillery and ammunition. So sudden and furious had been the final assault, that not even the mines

were fired, which had been prepared under ground at the west of the fortress, to blow up the Americans as they approached; for these had moved so rapidly over the treacherous surface, in pursuit of the fugitives from the captured redoubt, that if they had been fired, the explosions would have destroyed as many friends as enemies. But at Bravo's command to fire them, the engineers in whose charge they were, had disappeared in the confusion of the battle, nor could they be found before the enemy were scaling the walls in every direction.

The surprise and mortification of Santa Anna at seeing himself so completely outgeneraled by Scott, and Chapultepec in possession of the enemy, were extreme; but with the utmost haste he detached the greater portion of his troops from their position near the gate of San Antonio, to meet the Americans, who were now rapidly advancing upon the garitas of San Cosme and Belen, he leaving only a small portion at the former garita, to defend it against the threatened assault of Gen. Twiggs; but even that was not necessary, for Gen. Scott, in a few moments after the capture of Chapultepec, ascended that fortress, and looking down on the city and the long causeways which led to it, covered by the flying battalions of Generals Rangel and Barragan, closely pursued by his own troops under Gen. Worth and Quitman—the former making for San Cosme to the left, and the latter toward Belen, from there directly opposite—immediately sent to their support all his available troops, reserving only one shattered regiment, the 15th, to garrison the fort; dispatching an order to Gen. Twiggs, who in compliance, withdrew his forces and artillery, and hastily marched for the scene of actual engagement.

The tables were completely turned upon Santa Anna. This stroke of policy of Gen. Scott had deranged all his preparations for defense; he had but few guns at the western gates, nor was there time now to remedy his mistake with regard to the intended point of attack.

Leading his forces rapidly up, at one P. M. he met the column under Gen. Quitman, furiously fighting for the possession of the garita of Belen, having taken the defenses on the causeway. The assault was vigorous—the defense desperate and bloody. Leaving this post, under command of Gen. Terres, supported by a strong reserve under Gen. Garay, and the guns of the citadel of Cuadela, Santa Anna hastened further on, to the garita of San Cosme, where the troops of Gen. Worth, already in possession of several buildings, were fighting fiercely with Gen. Rangel, avoiding as much as possible the terrible fire poured upon them, by digging through the walls of the houses. All efforts to stay their progress were unavailing; blood flowed in torrents, but the enemy gained house after house, advancing into the city.

Night closed the fighting at the gate of Belen—Quitman throwing up defenses, and mounting the artillery sent to him. While at San Cosme, Worth at dark having obtained the full entrance, planted a heavy mortar and a piece of artillery, which threw shot and shells in numbers into the heart of the city.

At 10 P. M. Santa Anna called a council of officers at the citadel of Cuidadela, and because of the foothold which the enemy had obtained within the city, it was determined to evacuate it with the remaining troops, and retire by the northern road to Guadalupe, three miles distant. In this council, overwhelmed by his failures, Santa Anna lost his temper, and accused Gen. Terres and other officers, for that which he had only to blame himself—in being so deceived by the feints of Gen. Scott.

The retreat commenced at midnight, and soon after, Maj. Palacios, with a deputation from the *ayuntamiento* (common council), was sent by that body to Gen. Worth, with an offer of surrender. Being referred to Gen. Scott, at Tacubaya, the firing ceased while they proceeded to that place. Arriving there, at four o'clock on the morning of the 14th, they demanded terms of capitulation, which were refused, but protection promised, and they returned.

On the morning of the 14th September the two divisions of the American army entered the city—Worth halting at the Alameda or public garden, and Quitman after taking possession of the Cuidadela proceeding to the square in front of the national palace, upon which he hoisted the stars and stripes. Directly after Gen. Scott had arrived at the palace, a general insurrection took place, and furious efforts were made to expel the Americans. This raged with the utmost violence for over twenty-four hours, with great loss of life on both sides, but more especially among the citizens; for the exasperated soldiers broke into every house from which a shot had been fired, and put to death many there found within, and destroyed the property. By this severe measure, which was only adopted as a last extremity, the powerful insurrection was quelled. During it Santa Anna and Gen. Alvarez, each at the head of a body of cavalry, reëntered the city; but finding that all was lost, again retired—leaving the Americans in quiet possession.

Thus, had this small and gallant army, to the astonishment of the world, cut its way from the coast to the capital; and after the battles and captures of Vera Cruz, Cerro Gordo, Jalapa, Perote, Puebla, Contreras, San Antonio, Churubusco, Molino del Rey, Chapultepec, Belen and San Cosme—a series of fights by which they had been reduced to six thousand—were in quiet possession of a city of two hun-

dred thousand inhabitants. Their losses and achievements in these late battles, are thus recapitulated by Gen. Scott, in his dispatch to government:

August 19, 20.—Killed, 137, including 14 officers. Wounded, 877, including 62 officers. Missing, probably killed, 38 rank and file. Total, 1052.

September 8.—Killed, 116, including 9 officers. Wounded, 665, including 49 officers. Missing, 18 rank and file. Total, 789.

September 12, 13, and 14.—Killed, 130, including 10 officers. Wounded, 703, including 68 officers. Missing, 29 rank and file. Total, 862.

Grand total of losses, 2703, including 383 officers.

On the other hand, this small force has beaten, on the same occasions, in view of their capital, the whole Mexican army, of (at the beginning) thirty-odd thousand men, posted always in chosen positions, behind intrenchments, or more formidable defenses of nature and art;* killed or wounded of that number more than seven thousand officers and men; taken 3730 prisoners, one seventh officers, including thirteen generals, of whom three had been presidents of the Republic; captured more than twenty colors and standards, seventy-five pieces of ordnance, beside fifty-seven wall-pieces, twenty thousand small arms, an immense quantity of shot, shells, powder, &c.

* The Mexican fortifications referred to, according to the report of Capt. Lee, of the American engineers, were as follows:

Penon,	20 batteries, for 51 cannon, and 15 inf. breastworks.
Mexicalsingo,	8 38 1
San Antonio,	7 24 2
Churubusco,	2 15
Contreras,	1 22
Chapultepec,	7 19 7
At the city,	47 177 17

Total defenses, 92 batteries, 346 cannon, 42 inf. breastworks.

To these, must be added as defenses, the numerous canals which surrounded the city, and extended on either side of the long causeways. These canals were mostly twenty-five feet wide and five feet deep. The Casa Mata; the strong buildings of Molino del Rey; the adjoining breastworks and battery; and, the strong citadel of Cuadela, must also be added to the account. And, also, the fortress-like construction of the stone, flatroofed, iron barred, parapetted houses of the city (from which alone the American army suffered much in the assault and subsequent insurrection), may be considered as defenses of the most formidable character.

CHAPTER VI.

SANTA ANNA resigns—Pena y Pena succeeds—Siege of Puebla—Battles of Huamantla and Atlixco—Santa Anna deprived of command—Santa Anna's "Exposition"—Election of President Anaya—Battle of Matamoras—Anaya's term expires—Pena y Pena again assumes the presidency—Movements of Genl. Lane—Santa Anna's last address—Signing of treaty of peace—The armistice—Circular of Rosa—Santa Anna—Paredes—Jarauta—Zenobia—Alvarez—Almonte—Battle of Santa Cruz de Rosales—Condition of Yucatan—Treaty ratified by the senate of the U. S.—Arrival of American commissioners—Meeting of congress—Ratification of the treaty—Departure of American armies from Mexico—Gen. Herrera elected president—Revolution of Paredes and Jarauta.

GENERAL QUITMAN was immediately appointed governor of the city of Mexico, by Gen. Scott; and a number of orders were issued by him, with regard to the population, troops, &c.; the most important of which was the levying of a contribution upon the capital of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, for the use of the American army. This was the first indication to the Mexicans of the decision of the government of the United States, to carry on the war in a more rigorous manner.

Santa Anna, in his altered circumstances, was not long in deciding upon his course. On the 14th, from Guadalupe, he dispatched circulars to the governors of the different states, informing them of the capture of the capital upon that day. On the 16th, from the same place, he issued a decree, in which he directed the meeting of congress on the 5th of October, at Queretaro—one hundred and twenty-five miles north of Mexico—as the future seat of government; and, announcing his determination immediately to attack the enemy's line of communication from Vera Cruz, as commander-in-chief of the army, he resigned the other important authority with which he was clothed, that of president of the republic, and in accordance with the provisions of the constitution of 1824, called to assume it, until congress should elect his successor, Don Emanuel Peña y Peña, chief-justice of the supreme court of Mexico, to be assisted by Generals Herrera and Alcora. He then ordered Herrera, at the head of about four thousand troops, to march to Queretaro, and as soon as that body left, he, with two thousand cavalry under Gen. Alvarez, on the 18th

evacuated Guadalupe, and commenced his march for Puebla, to attack the American garrison there, leaving the vicinity of the capital in the undisputed possession of the enemy.

On the 27th of September, Peña y Peña, from Toluca, accepted the appointment of the powers of the provisional presidency, and after appointing Don Luis de la Rosa minister of foreign and internal relations, issued a circular to the governors of the states, accompanied by another from Rosa, urging upon the governors to expedite the meeting of the deputies in congress at Queretaro—to preserve order in the states, and by all possible means to assist the president “in making head against the tremendous difficulties of his situation,” and “in sustaining the independence and nationality of Mexico, and preserving from every assault the federal institutions,” &c. The president then proceeded to Queretaro; many of the members of congress soon followed—some of whom, having been taken prisoners by the Americans, were liberated for the purpose, and provided with passports of safety by Gen. Scott.

Leaving the review of the shattered government, thus attempting to reorganise itself, let us follow Santa Anna in his sudden movement against the Americans at Puebla. When the army of Gen. Scott left Puebla for the city of Mexico, on the 6th of August, Col. Childs had remained as governor, with a detachment of four hundred men, encumbered with eighteen hundred sick. This little force, in possession of the convent and the fortified heights near the city, held the place with its population of seventy thousand, in perfect quiet, during the time in which the battles of Contreras and Churubusco had been fought, and that also consumed by the armistice; but on the reception of the news of the rumored defeat of the Americans at Molino del Rey, on the night of the 13th of September, the populace rose, *en masse*, upon the American garrison. This attack was directed by Gen. Rea, a Spaniard by birth, and a good officer, who was then in command of about three thousand regular troops; it was continued night and day, without intermission, with cannon shot, but principally musketry. By the addition of the populace his forces increased daily, and the fierceness of the attack proportionably increased. But the little band of Americans seemed determined to die rather than to yield. From the heights of Loretto they poured down shot and shell upon the city; from the convent they made desperate sorties upon the buildings, from the tops and windows of which they were assailed by such a destructive fire; and in the hottest of the siege, afterward, digging through the walls of an entire square, they turned the barricades in the streets, burned them, and captured the guns.

Santa Anna arrived on the 22d, and took the command. His reinforcements increased the number of the assailants to eight thousand men, beside the populace. On the 25th he sent a communication to Col. Childs by a flag of truce, stating the amount of his army—that he had come to relieve the inhabitants of Puebla from the domination of the forces of the United States, from whom they had suffered so much; offered that the garrison might march out with the honors of war, and proceed either to join Gen. Scott, at the city of Mexico, or return to Perote; and finally, in case of noncompliance, threatened the most rigorous measures, &c. Col. Childs, in reply, denied that the citizens of Puebla had suffered at all from the troops of the United States—declined the proffered terms of surrender, stating that he had the necessary means, and should defend his position to the last.

For the space of six days and nights succeeding did Santa Anna make the most vigorous exertions with his whole force, to dislodge the Americans; but the latter withstood the continued assault with the firmness of a rock. There had been no action during the war in which the persevering valor and obstinacy of resistance of the American troops had been so brilliantly illustrated, as in this contest. With scarcely time to eat or sleep, they fought without intermission, from hour to hour, from day to day—the places of those who fell, in exposed situations, were instantly filled by others.

But another force threatened Santa Anna. Brig. Gen. Lane having left Vera Cruz on the 18th of September, had added to his command that of Major Lally,* at Jalapa, and was now rapidly approaching

* Major Lally's force, consisting of near a thousand men, with seventy-six wagons, had commenced the march for Puebla, from Vera Cruz, on the 7th of August. It having been reported that a million of dollars in gold was to be carried up by this train, Padre Jarauta, and Aburto, in command of the guerrilla forces, had, by the promise of fifty dollars a man, in case of success, induced three thousand men to join their standard. With this force Jarauta, on the 9th, attacked Lally, near San Juan; on the 10th, at Paso Oviñas; on the 12th, at Puente Nacional; on the 14th, on the road near Plan del Rio; on the 15th, at Cerro Gordo; on the 17th, at Lasanimas. Lally having thus fought his way through, arrived at Jalapa on the 20th, with a loss of one hundred and five men killed and wounded, not losing a single wagon. A reinforcement of two hundred men under Capt. Wells, however, which had been sent out from Vera Cruz with nine wagons of ammunition, on the 13th, to join Major Lally, was not so fortunate. Having been attacked on the 14th and 15th, the forces of Jarauta entirely defeated them at the national bridge, and captured all their wagons, with important dispatches. They retreated to Vera Cruz, with the loss of one fifth of their number killed, wounded, prisoners, and disabled from the heat and fatigue. Having met with this severe reception on the route, Major Lally remained at Jalapa until joined by Gen. Lane, a month afterward.

Perote, on his march to relieve the Americans at Puebla. This information being communicated to Santa Anna, from Jalapa, he withdrew half his men, on the 31st of September, with six pieces of artillery, from the attack on Col. Childs, and marched to meet Gen. Lane; but that general delaying at Perote longer than Santa Anna had expected, the latter took up his headquarters at Huamantla, having given orders to Rea to continue the attack upon, and subdue, the small garrison under Childs. There was no cessation to the conflict in Puebla. Gen. Rea left no means untried to subdue the garrison: nor did he retire until driven away by the approach of Lane, after the result of the battle fought by Santa Anna.

Gen. Lane, with about two thousand men, and two batteries of artillery, with a large wagon train, approached near Huamantla on the 8th, and on the following morning, leaving the train on the road in charge of part of his men, with the remainder he rapidly marched toward Huamantla, at the moment that Santa Anna had withdrawn most of his force from thence for the purpose of surprising Lane on the road. The Mexican troops left in town were at first dispersed by the American dragoons; but the Mexican general having ordered the main body of his force to their support, the Americans were repulsed, until in turn supported by their infantry, when the Mexicans were routed, with the loss of two pieces of artillery, and many killed and wounded. American loss, thirteen killed, eleven wounded (and according to Santa Anna's report, twenty-four prisoners).

Gen. Lane withdrew from the town after the battle, and the next day resumed his march, entering Puebla on the 13th; the last of the besieging forces retiring to Atlixco, and thus relieving the garrison, which had heroically sustained the attack of ten times their number for thirty days and nights. The Americans, thus reinforced, now became the assailants. Gen. Lane, on the 19th, marched toward Atlixco, ten leagues from Puebla, where the division of Rea had retired, and where the legislature of the state was then in session. He encountered the troops of Alvarez and Rea, and after a running fight—in which the latter retreated—came upon the heights overlooking the town after sunset, and, by a bright moonlight, cannonaded the place, by a well directed plunging fire, for nearly an hour, which caused great destruction. The Mexican troops continued their flight, joined by the members of the legislature and most of the inhabitants. The town was spared, on the application of the members of the ayuntamiento; was occupied that night, and searched for arms the next morning, after which the invaders returned to Puebla. This blow upon Atlixco, where many guerrilla parties had been fitted out,

and where a number of the principal opponents of peace had retired, struck much terror into the minds of all of these.

The battle of Huamantla was the close of the contests of Santa Anna with the armies of the United States. His troops were deserting him, and, in one week after that action he received a notice from Peña y Peña, through Rosa, directing him to turn over the command of the army to Gen. Rincon, who had been exchanged; or, until that general should arrive, unto Gen. Alvarez; and himself await the action of a court martial, before which to give an account of the numerous battles he had lost. This direction, so humiliating to him, he obeyed; and, turning the command over to Gen. Alvarez, took leave of his troops in an address, dated at Huamantla, October 16th, and retired to Tehuacan.

The events of the succeeding three months, or until the conclusion of the treaty of peace between the United States and Mexico, are not in themselves of so important a nature as those that have been related. President Peña y Peña arrived at Queretaro on the 12th of October, and appointed as his secretary of war Gen. Mora y Villamil.—On the 14th, Senor Rosa addressed another appeal to the deputies of congress, endeavoring to assemble that dilatory body. On the 20th, in the name of the president, he summoned the governors of the States of Puebla, Mexico, Queretaro, Michoacan, Guanajuato, Jalisco, San Luis Potosi, and Zacatecas, to meet the executive on the 10th of November, to consult on the exigencies of the nation. Peña y Peña—after suspending Santa Anna, and ordering Gen. Paredes (who had published a long address to his countrymen, from Tulancingo), into a nominal state of arrest at Teloloapan, and directing a court martial to investigate the conduct of Gen. Valencia at the battle of Contreras, according to his request—turned his attention to the state of the army; and attempted some reforms, which soon drew down upon him condemnation from the officers and soldiers thereof: to but little purpose, however, as they failed to intimidate him.

Among the deputies who were in attendance at Querétaro, the same dissensions appeared as formerly, with the addition of the formation of a new party, the Santanistas, or adherents of Santa Anna, who united their influence with the Puros, against the Moderados. The Monarquistas had no voice in the assembly, though they were most busy throughout the nation in disseminating their views, and with much apparent success.

While waiting for the assembly of a full quorum of congress, the deputies carried on the strife of politics; in which they were joined by the various papers of the city of Mexico, and the different states,

many of which particularly opposed the president's efforts to reform the army.

The remnant of the Mexican army, in all its divisions, at this time, was about as follows: At Querétaro, under Generals Lombardini and Reyes, one thousand men; Santa Anna's army, now under Gen. Rincon, four thousand; the garrisons of Mazatlan, La Sonora, and Acapulco, four thousand; in the states of Tobasco and Chiapas, two thousand; under Urrea, Carvajal, and Canales, two thousand; the brigade at Potosi, commanded by Gen. Fillisola, three thousand; at Toluca, under Gen. Peña y Barragan, two thousand; in the state of Oaxaca, one thousand; the whole force of the guerrillas from Vera Cruz to Puebla, three thousand; total force, thirty-one thousand men. The last item, however, of guerrilla forces, was shortly after this very much reduced by the attacks and operations of Gen. Lane, at Puebla, and Gen. Patterson, at Vera Cruz and Jalapa. Lane having a force of above 3000 men at Puebla, entirely prevented Generals Rincon,* Alvarez, and Rea, from making any demonstration in that state; while Gen. Patterson, with a force of nearly 4,000, broke up the various rendezvous of the guerrillas about Vera Cruz, and completely dispersed them. He garrisoned the strong hold at the national bridge; and leaving Vera Cruz with his main body, on 2d November, marched on to Jalapa, and routed them from that neighborhood—executing two of their officers, who had broken their parole, having been prisoners before. By the large number of American troops pouring into Vera Cruz, and these vigorous operations of their generals, the guerrillas were entirely dispersed, for the time. Padre Jaranta, pressed by Gen. Patterson, and knowing that in a few days Gen. Butler would issue from Vera Cruz, with yet another army of near 6,000 men, became disheartened, and on the 4th of November sent an offer of surrender to Gen. Patterson, at the national bridge; but not liking that general's answer, he left that section of country, with but a few followers, and proceeded to the vicinity of the city of Mexico, where he was again pursued, routed, and wounded, by the troops of Gen. Lane, whose name became terrible to the guerrillas. So completely was the road abandoned by them, at this period, that the first American return train, consisting of six hundred wagons and a proper escort, which left the city of Mexico on the 1st of November, for Vera Cruz, was not, during its passage of fifteen days, attacked in a single instance, or annoyed at any of the passes by a single hostile shot

* Generals Rincon and Bravo being prisoners to the Americans, had been exchanged for Captains Heady, Clay, and others.

The inhabitants of the whole section of country, from the capital to the coast at Vera Cruz, were completely dispirited. A garrison of Americans, under Col. Hughes, was again placed in Jalapa.

A quorum of deputies having arrived at Queretaro, the Mexican congress opened its session on November 2d. Senor D. Jose Maria Godoy, from Guanajuato, was elected president of the body; and Senor D. Jose Maria Hernandez, from Durango, vice president.

One of the first subjects presented to the congress assembled, was a bold and novel communication or "Exposition," as he termed it, from Gen. Santa Anna, written on November 1st, from his retirement at Tehuacan. Always fond of power, and smarting under the order of Peña y Peña, deposing him from the command of the army, and informed of all the proceedings at Queretaro—of the increase of the Santanistas—of the disaffection of the multitude of army officers at the attempted reforms, he judged it a proper time to regain his lost station. In a communication to Peña y Peña of the same date as his "Exposition," he contended, that he never did resign the office of president in explicit terms; that he only temporarily submitted to a division of that office from the power of commander-in-chief, with which he again took the field; and that the circumstances which led to that having ceased, he now claimed the office of president, until congress should, in due form, accept his resignation then given, and now repeated, &c., &c.

In the "Exposition" he urged the same positions, and finally asked congress to accept his resignation in legal form.

The effect of this would have been, to pronounce Peña y Peña's administration an usurpation of power; and, consequently, his acts—and among them the deposing of Santa Anna, void; and would thus have left the latter, after his resignation of the office of president had been accepted, yet at the head of the army. The plan of Santa Anna was, however, unsuccessful; and he still remained at Tehuacan.

Notwithstanding the strenuous efforts of the Puros and Santanistas, the Moderados triumphed in the election. The former president substitute, Anaya, was elected to the presidency, to occupy that station until the counting of the votes from the different states, which had been postponed, as before mentioned, by the influence of Santa Anna, until January 8th, 1848.

The administration of Anaya thus continued only two months. He retained the ministers of Peña y Peña in office, adding to the cabinet that personage himself. The whole tenor of the acts of his term were towards the completion of a peace with the United States; and a secret communication was opened with Mr. Trist, the commissioner

of the United States, for that meeting which resulted in the appointment of commissioners by Anaya for that purpose; and by the middle of December, these negotiations, based on the former proposals of the American commissioner, were in a state of forwardness; entirely unknown, however, to the body of the nation, or to the disaffected parties.

The Mexican congress having, after a session of a few days, made provision for a new congress to be assembled on the 1st of January, 1848, closed its labors. Most of the members dispersed; all the opposing leaders, and many of the old deputies, however, remaining at Queretaro. Against Anaya's course, and against a peace, the Puros, headed by Gomez Farias, issued a strong manifesto; while the Santanistas endeavored to get up a pronunciamiento, or revolution, in which they were joined by the disaffected officers of the army, who saw in a continuation of the war their only hope even of subsistence. The firm front, however, of the president, who called together the faithful troops, and planted artillery in the streets, gave no hope of success to them, while the manifesto of the Puros was productive of but little effect. The nation generally, especially near the scenes of action, were becoming weary of the war, and at heart in favor of peace upon any honorable terms. To this, however, there were many exceptions.

While the assembly of governors of states, which had been directed by Peña y Peña, had resolved, generally, to support the existing administration of Anaya, by assistance in funds and influence, and in keeping order in the various departments; and while the governor of the state of Puebla, Señor Don Isunza, had, without request, sent in to Governor Childs, at the city of Puebla, all the American prisoners under his control;—the states of Guanajuato, San Luis Potosi, and Jalisco, influenced by the Puros and Santanistas, formed a coalition for the purpose of carrying on the war by themselves, and throwing embarrassments in the way of the administration. Santa Anna, too, from Tehuacan, sent in his official account of the battles which resulted in the loss of the capital; excusing his own part, saying not a word of his own failure in anticipating the designs of the enemy, but laying the whole fault of the loss of Chapultepec at the door of General Bravo. This produced much effect among the officers of the army and Santanistas generally, and drew from Bravo a long defense of his conduct. President Anaya, fully sustaining the action of his predecessor Peña y Peña, with regard to Santa Anna, and disregarding the united action of the Puros and Santanistas, firmly held on his way, supported by his cabinet, determined to have peace concluded;—

the other opposition to his policy, though not shown at Queretaro, was widely extending itself under the action of the Monarquistas. Padre Jarauta, now arrived in the valley of Mexico, joined this party; and meeting Paredes, entered into a full compact to support him; though he remained for the present to act with General Rea, in command of guerrillas, against the Americans.

Although the commissioner of the United States was in communication with those of Mexico, and a treaty was in a state of forwardness, the operations of the American forces did not appear to have reference toward the immediate conclusion of a peace. The President of the United States had officially announced that the powers of the commissioner were ended, and that he was recalled.* Troops more numerous had been poured into the southern portion of Mexico. The northern army, under General Taylor, had been weakened to strengthen the southern, to such an extent, that that general had left the command to General Wool, and returned to the United States. While large bodies were arriving every day at Vera Cruz, General Lane, General Patterson, General Butler, and General Marshall, were sweeping on with new forces from the coast to the capital. Already the American army in the south numbered nearly thirty thousand men; while fresh troops in New Mexico, under General Price, had effectually subdued all symptoms of rebellion, and again were advancing upon Chihuahua. The forces of the Americans had also been

* The efforts of the American commissioner to negotiate a peace were great and unremitted, but appeared to be made more on his own account than on that of his government. No sooner had the American army triumphantly entered the capital, than Mr. Trist, under date of September 20, addressed a note to the government of Pena y Pena, with the information that he was still ready to negotiate terms of peace. This communication was for some time unanswered; and on the 31st of October, the reply of Rosa, the Mexican minister, was, that with every desire for peace, he doubted whether any good results would be accomplished. Three weeks after this time, on the 22d November, Pena y Pena, then secretary under Anaya, by direction of the latter, again wrote to Trist, reviewing all past correspondence, appointing commissioners, &c. The American commissioner replied on the 24th, that his authority was revoked, and himself recalled. (This had been twice done by the American government, once under date of October 2d, and again on October 26th.) Three days after this reply to Anaya's administration, Trist replied to his own recall, and dispatched that to Washington City; then renewed the correspondence with Pena y Pena, through influence of a mediating party at Queretaro, and declared that he would personally assume the responsibility of concluding a peace with the Mexican government, if they were strong enough to make it. This led immediately to the appointment of commissioners for that purpose, who, on December 9th, met at Guadalupe Hidalgo, near Mexico.

increased in California ; while the strong port of Mazatlan, on the Pacific, after a long blockade, had fallen before the squadron of Commodore Shubrick. The American frigate Congress, the sloop of war Portsmouth, and one small merchant brig, all under the command of Commodore Lavallette, had appeared before the port of Guaymas, also on the Pacific, on the 15th October, and planting mortars on the islands in the harbor, on the 19th cannonaded and bombarded that town, and took possession of it.

General Rea, who, by order of the president, now commanded in the state of Puebla, had established his head quarters in the town of Matamoros, fifty-five miles from the city. His force consisted of near eight hundred men, with three pieces of artillery. Early in the morning of the 23d of October, he was surprised by the American general, Lane, who had marched during the night from Puebla, with one hundred and sixty mounted men and one piece of artillery. The suddenness of this unexpected attack completely routed the forces of Rea, which precipitately fled from the streets, with the loss of sixty men ; leaving their artillery, a great quantity of small arms and ammunition, one hundred horses, and twenty-one American prisoners who had been in their hands.

Lane remained in the town during the day and the next night, occupied in destroying the stores, &c.; and on the morning of the 24th commenced his return for Puebla ; but was met by the whole force of Rea in the mountain pass of Galaxra, and another battle ensued. The advance of the Americans drove in that of Rea, but were forced to retire before the main body of the Mexicans ; but, on being supported by their artillery, Rea withdrew from its range, and confined his operations to harassing the Americans as they continued their march towards Atlixco, near which place he drew off his command ; and the Americans, having accomplished their object, returned to Puebla.

The character of the war had now changed ; and the American government declared that the conquered country should thereafter bear the burdens of the war.

Measures more strict were at once ordered by General Scott, with regard to the guerrillas, directing such to be shot when taken, as well as those who had before broken their parole. On account of the frequency of the latter occurrence, he had refused to parole the numerous prisoners he had taken at the battles near the city, until the Archbishop of Mexico interceded for them, and administered to them each the oath, granting them a certificate signed by himself and the first alcalde of the city, and being himself responsible for them. This,

together with the summary punishment of the officers shot at Jalapa by General Patterson, had a strong effect upon the people of the country. Though at Orizaba a strong guerrilla force still remained, under the command of Colonel Zenobia, who, a little after this time, on January 4th, at Santa Fe, near Vera Cruz, making an attack on the rear of an American train, under Colonel Miles, killed many Americans, and captured three hundred pack mules bearing near one hundred thousand dollars worth of property.

On the 31st of December, the American commander issued an order levying assessments on the several Mexican states as follow, in article 1st of said order :

HEAD QUARTERS OF THE ARMY, }
Mexico, December 31, 1847. }

[General Order—No. 395.]

1. To support, in part, the military occupation of the republic of Mexico by the army of the United States, the several states of this republic, already occupied, and others as they shall become occupied, are, or will be assessed, by the year, in dollars, as follows :

Chihuahua, \$49,188 ; Coahuila, \$5,659 ; Chiapas, \$21,692 ; Durango, \$85,556 ; Guanajuato, \$255,876 ; Jalisco, \$236,338 ; Mexico, state and federal district, \$668,332 ; Michoacan, \$287,712 ; Nueva Leon, \$50,437 ; Puebla, 424,276 ; Oaxaca, \$84,160 ; Queretaro, \$85,944 ; San Luis, \$111,260 ; Sinaloa, \$33,524 ; Sonora, \$5,000 ; Tobasco, \$59,060 ; Tamaulipas, \$71,332 ; Vera Cruz, \$271,548 ; Zacatecas and Aguas Calientes, reunited, \$249,076.

[By the second article, all transit duties were abolished, and the tobacco monopoly ; the third article made the governors and revenue collectors responsible for the amounts ; article fourth, provided that the said sums should become due, from any state, from the first day of the month in which the American troops occupied the same ; fifth article provided, that part of the amount might be paid in subsistence and forage ; sixth article declared, that in case of failure in payment by any state, the property of the public functionaries should be seized and confiscated to pay it ; the seventh article provided, that in case the foregoing did not satisfy the demand, that the commanding officer of the United States' troops in the said state should make the amount from the property of the wealthier inhabitants ; eighth, declared that receipts should be given by the quartermasters, paymasters, and commissaries ; ninth, stated that all the dues heretofore collected, from the tax on gold and silver, for the use of the Mexican government, should be continued for the use of the American army ; tenth, stated the rate of tax on production, on smelting, on assaying, and on coinage, &c. of the precious metals ; eleventh, appointed the places for collection of said tax ; twelfth, made the like penalties for nonpay-

ment of this tax as mentioned in articles sixth and seventh, and provided for receipts for the same as in article eighth; thirteenth, announced the intention of spreading the American troops over the republic of Mexico, and gave strong commands to the American soldiers for their proper government, &c.; fourteenth, declared that the laws of war would be observed towards all Mexicans in arms who should observe those laws; but for the treatment of guerrillas, refers to the previous order (in which they were to receive no quarters—if taken prisoners, to be tried by a drumhead court martial, and if found guilty, shot instantaner).]

The promulgation of this order produced a great effect among the Mexican people; many of whom, of all parties, began seriously to fear for the preservation of their nationality.

Several causes of dispute had existed, previous to this, between the ayuntamiento of the city and the American governor, General Smith,* in each of which the council were forced to yield to the strong arm of power. On the 26th of December, the governor dissolved the ayuntamiento, against their will, and installed a new set of members.

Immediate measures were taken, by the American commander, for the collection of the revenues as mentioned in the foregoing articles. A force of a regiment of infantry, a squadron of cavalry, and two pieces of artillery, under Colonel Withers, proceeded to the silver mines of Real del Monte; and preparations were also apparent among the American troops, for their onward movements in occupying the whole republic. At Queretaro, the population became exceedingly alarmed, and many of the families able to do so, removed themselves and their effects far into the interior.

The 1st of January, 1848, arrived, but no congress was assembled; not more than thirty of the deputies could be mustered. The 8th came on—they were still unassembled. President Anaya's term of office being expired, he relinquished the presidency again into the hands of Peña y Peña, who assumed it, as before, by his right of chief justice; and ex president Anaya immediately entered the cabinet as minister of war, Don Riva Salacio as minister of justice, while Señor Rosa, before in Peña y Peña's administration, was appointed as minister of internal and foreign relations.

The new president showed himself as favorable to the conclusion of a peace as his predecessor had been. In a few days after he had assumed the direction of affairs, a pronunciamiento was made by Ma-

* The first governor, General Quitman, left for the United States on the 1st of November.

riano Avila, governor of the state of San Luis Potosi, and a special decree issued by him on January 12th, repudiating the acts of the government at Queretaro; declared the ties that bound the states together severed; stating the intention of that state to carry on the war; inviting the coöperation of the other states; and calling for a convention of such states as might adopt these principles, to adopt a chief executive, &c., &c. This plan, however, met with not much favor; the governor being arrested, by order of the legislature, on his attempt to promulgate it as a law. The people of the state of Oajaca slightly responded to it, and a revolutionary movement at the same time took place, under the direction of General Alvarez, in the state of Mexico, in which the governor, Olaguibel, was deposed; but this, too, soon subsided. The pronunciamento had, however, the effect to draw a long message to the people from Peña y Peña, another from Rosa, and a third from General Bustamante, to whom the command of the revolutionary forces was offered—all condemning the movement, and advancing opinions favorable to peace. The latter general, immediately after this, was appointed commander in chief of the Mexican army, and issued another address to his countrymen, announcing that fact.

The operations of the Americans, though not extensive, were active; notwithstanding the commissioners had met to treat of peace. Gen. Valencia and his aid, Col. Arista, were taken prisoners, on the night of January 1st, at the hacienda of the former, by a detachment of Americans who were in pursuit of Padre Jarauta. Generals Miñon, Torrejon, and Gaund, were also captured by Col. Dominguez, commander of a company of Mexicans in the service of the U. States. Toluca was taken possession of, on January 12th, by the American general, Cadwallader. Cuernavaca also was occupied by Colonel Clark. Jarauta was suddenly attacked, on January 12th, at Teotihuacan, by Col. Hays, eight of his men killed, and himself wounded. In the night of the 22d, General Santa Anna, at Tehuacan, was informed that a force of Americans from the capital, under the indefatigable General Lane, was advancing upon him by forced marches. Hardly had he availed himself of this information to escape with his followers, before the American troops entered the place. Disappointed in securing Santa Anna, who retired to Coscatlan, they proceeded on to Orizaba, taking possession of that city and then of Cordova; breaking up the rendezvous of guerrillas under command of Colonel Zenobia, and destroying all arms and public stores. General Lane, in returning to Puebla, made a rapid circuit to Teotihuacan, in pursuit of Padre Jarauta and General Rea, cut to pieces a detachment of Rea's

force under command of Colonel Falcon, and spread the utmost consternation through the entire country. Returning to Mexico on February 9th, General Lane, with the same command, made a secret and rapid march on the 17th, towards Tulancingo, with the object of taking Gen. Paredes prisoner; but that officer escaped, by fleeing from his house a few minutes before it was surrounded. Padre Jarauta, with three hundred men, was at Sequaltaplan at this time; but on the second day after, at sunrise, he, too, was surprised by the sudden appearance of Lane's dragoons; his force was routed and dispersed, with the loss of one hundred killed, more wounded, and fifty prisoners taken. Jarauta escaped with only a few men, completely dispirited and dismayed. The command of Lane again returned to the capital.

This was the last fighting near the valley of Mexico; for, on the 2d of February, at Guadalupe Hidalgo, the efforts of the respective commissioners had resulted in the signing of a definite treaty of peace between the Mexican republic and the United States. A copy of this treaty had been immediately dispatched to the government of the United States at Washington, for ratification, and another to the Mexican government at Queretaro. By this treaty (which is hereafter inserted in full, as signed by the commissioners), a military convention was agreed upon, for the arrangement of the terms for the suspension of hostilities, while the two governments should be acting upon the ratification of the treaty. The armistice thus agreed upon was not concluded till the 29th of February, upon which all offensive operations on the part of the invaders ceased, and they remained quietly in possession of the captured cities and posts.

While the American army had been in possession of the capital, difficulties had arisen between General Scott, its commander in chief, and Generals Worth and Pillow, and other officers, which resulted in a court of inquiry being directed by the government of the United States. General Scott was suspended, and Major General Wm. O. Butler appointed commander in chief. Scott yielded up the command of the American army to Butler on February 19th.

On the other hand, General Santa Anna's position with the Mexican government had become still more unpleasant. After the reply of General Bravo to his official accounts of the battle at the city, he again addressed a communication to the congress, complaining that his reports were misconstrued; but by this communication he aroused another opponent, General Terres, who had never forgiven him for the gross insults placed upon the latter at the citadel of Cuicadela, on the memorable night of the 13th September, immediately previous

to the evacuation of the capital. The power and popularity of Santa Anna, for the present, were completely gone. His former friends were unwilling to protect him. When flying from the sudden and unexpected attack of General Lane, into the state of Oajaca, the people there refused to shelter him, or even allow him to remain. From having been the president of the republic, a dictator in power, commander of all the armies of the nation, he saw himself a fugitive, refused, by one of the smaller states, even an asylum from the pursuit of his enemies. While in this situation, he addressed the following communication to Anaya, minister of war, the last from him; for, shortly afterwards, having obtained his passports, countersigned by the American commander, he was escorted from Jalapa to the coast at Antigua, near Vera Cruz, by a battalion of American artillery, and there embarked for Jamaica. Time only will show whether he will again appear upon the changing political arena of the unhappy republic of Mexico.

CASCATELAN, February 1, 1848.

Most excellent sir : At Tehuacan I was preparing the accompanying note, to be forwarded to your excellency, when the people were suddenly invaded early in the morning of the 24th ult., by four hundred dragoons of the enemy, under the command of Gen. Lane. They came from Mexico, and by the express order of Gen. Scott, to take possession of my person in some way or other. Gen. Lane, by hurried marches and journeying by night, succeeded in reaching the vicinity of Tehuacan without being perceived. Fortunately, however, I was informed of his approach two hours before he came, and thus was safe from his clutches with my family; and with a small escort which accompanied me, I took refuge in the town of Teotitlan del Camino, where there was a force from the state of Oajaca. My persecutors forced open the doors of my habitation, and searched for me with extraordinary activity, extending their search to different houses of the place. The greater part of my equipage was destroyed by the invading soldiers, and their chiefs took my wrought silver plate, two canes, a new uniform, and other things of less value, as I have been informed.

After two days Gen. Lane proceeded to Orizaba, where he remains, having left no very favorable recollections of himself in Tehuacan. I left for this place in order to look about me, and see whither I shall go, and place myself beyond the reach of the enemy, now that I cannot fight against them, in consequence of the mournful condition to which I have been reduced by the government, which ordered that I should throw aside my arms. I am sensible that spurious Mexicans and the invaders persecute me at the same time—the one calling me a *traitor*, and the other the *only obstacle to the negotiation of a peace*. Fatal position in which I have been placed by the injustice of several of my fellow citizens.

When I shall have found an asylum which offers sufficient security, I shall make it known to your excellency, for the information of the first magistrate of the republic, in compliance with my duty.

Receive the consideration of my particular esteem. God and Liberty.

ANTONIO LOPEZ DE SANTA ANNA.

To his excellency the Minister of War.

On the next page is the “accompanying note” mentioned above :

Most excellent sir, The world has witnessed the solemnity and formality with which I was called to my country from the exile imposed upon me, in consequence of our political discord. It is notorious also, that abandoning my own convenience with pleasure, I have been anxious to meet the expectations which that high honor created, to the extent of my ability, omitting no means or sacrifice. Providence is wise and just. But incomprehensible in its works, it has not this time vouchsafed to favor the Mexican people with victory, and all their great and extraordinary efforts have been of no avail. A circumstance so lamentable, has induced some daring enemies to go to the extent of calling me a traitor, taking advantage of their being out of harm's way thus to stigmatize me. They forget, that when I was in power and had the ability to make them suffer for their grave offenses, I was prodigal of every favor and attention to them. In vain do they see my fortune ruined by the hands of the invader, and the frankness with which from my private purse I paid the soldiers who marched in the campaign, reserving no indemnity for the obvious dangers through which I run on the field of battle, and, in a word, that before consenting to a degrading peace, I preferred the hazards of war.

Because fortune has denied me her favors, and I have failed in my enterprises, without regard to the generous frankness with which I resigned power in order to continue the campaign I was suddenly withdrawn from the theater of the war, in violation of the fundamental law, deeply wounded in my feelings, and abandoned to that retirement for more than three months as if for no other reason than that to ignore more peace might be ever present to my thoughts. It would seem to have been due, also, that I might patiently suffer, without being able to defend myself from the outrages and treacherous insults which cowardly Mexicans inflicted upon me through the press in presence of the invaders whom I had fought. The decorum, which conducts so infamous always hangs upon an afflicted country, did not restrain them. To this is to be added, that, to enable me to live out of the way of the anarchy, traveling about here in large parties, I have had to spend more than two thousand dollars, necessary to maintain a small escort, when through the scarcity of meat in the treasury, I served my country without pay.

Under such circumstances, when my services seem unnecessary, my situation has been most painful, no one can justly reproach me if I employ myself in providing for my present family; and if, in consequence, I have determined to seek an asylum on a foreign shore, where I can pass my last days in that tranquility which I can never find in the land of my birth. A nation at one time the force of factious, persecuted by them without mercy, I can scarcely fail to dread that my misfortune will go so far even as to see me deprived of the consolation which man has in dying and being buried in the land of his fathers, though I have considered it with my heart, and fought to have a cemetery.

The Government, in order to grant, as I now respectfully do, due permission of these things, government to leave this republic, taking no journey as circumstances shall permit. And I expect of your excellency that, in a long and arduous task, that you will do me the favor of seeing to this place with a possible dispatch a passport in regular form. I can assure you, that the honorable distinction which the magistrature of our nation has thought me worthy of for such services as I have been able to render it, will forever live in my memory, and that my gratitude for its singular favor shall be eternal.

I have the honor to offer to your excellency the assurance of my particular esteem. God and Liberty. ANTONIO LOPEZ DE ANAYA, UNDA.

The Honorable Minister of War.

Telegraph, January 24, 1858

Although this was sent to the minister of war on the 1st of February, Santa Anna was not able to leave the country for more than a month afterwards. Both the treaty and the armistice had been concluded before he left the coast, on the 5th of March, after a varied residence of nineteen months, from the period of his recall from banishment by the revolution of Gen. Salas.

Below are given in full the terms of the armistice, which terminated all the operations of the Americans, so destructive of every hope of the Mexican people. Following the armistice is given the treaty, as signed by the commissioners. The articles that were expunged by the senate of the United States are so designated.

As the armistice closed the hostilities, it is given first, though the treaty is of previous date.

MILITARY CONVENTION FOR THE PROVISIONAL SUSPENSION OF HOSTILITIES.

The undersigned met, in the city of Mexico, on the 29th of February, 1848, for the purpose of complying with the second article of the treaty of peace, which was signed at the town of Guadalupe Hidalgo, on the 2d instant, in which it is agreed as follows:

"Immediately upon the signature of this treaty, a convention shall be entered into between a commissioner, or commissioners, appointed by the general-in-chief of the forces of the United States, and such as may be appointed by the Mexican government, to the end that a provisional suspension of hostilities shall take place; and that in the places occupied by the said forces, constitutional order may be reëstablished, as regards the political, administrative, and judicial branches, so far as this shall be permitted by the circumstances of military occupation."

When, having mutually exhibited and examined their respective full powers, which were found full and satisfactory, they agreed upon the following articles:

ARTICLE I.—There shall be an absolute and general suspension of arms and hostilities throughout the whole Republic of Mexico between the forces of the United States of America, and those of the United Mexican States, and consequently, immediately after the publication of this convention for the suspension of hostilities, in any place or district, no act of hostility of any kind shall be committed by the forces of either party; and if any person or persons be guilty of any breach of this article, they shall be individually liable to be tried and condemned under the laws of war.

ARTICLE II.—The troops of the United States shall not advance beyond the positions already occupied by them, toward any part of the Mexican territory not now in their possession, nor extend in any manner the limits of their present occupation; nor shall the troops of the United States advance from the positions now occupied by them; but each party may move freely and peaceably, as they find most convenient, within the limits of their occupation—neither passing through a territory occupied by the other.

ARTICLE III.—All persons of either nation, not belonging to the army, may travel without molestation wherever business may call them, subject to the laws of the country; but all persons belonging to the army, traveling from the posts of one toward those of the other, shall be accompanied by a flag of truce or a safe conduct.

ARTICLE IV.—In the Federal District, and in all States occupied by the American troops, the collection of all the contributions of war provided for by General Orders Nos. 376 and 395, of the commander-in-chief of said forces, due or becoming due for the months of February and March, shall be suspended until the expiration of this convention; and upon the ratification by the Mexican government of the treaty of peace signed on the 2d inst., all such contributions for the months of February and March, and afterward, shall be entirely remitted. But the tax on gaming houses, liquor shops, and places of public amusement shall continue to be collected as now, in each place occupied by the American troops, until the exchange of the ratifications

of the treaty, without prejudice to the rights of the municipal authorities to collect taxes as heretofore.

ARTICLE V.—With a view to the reëstablishment of constitutional order as regards the political, administrative and judicial branches, it is agreed, that in all places occupied by the American forces, the citizens of the Mexican Republic shall be free to exercise all their political rights in electing and installing the general, state, and municipal authorities which belong to the territorial divisions fixed by the Mexican laws and constitution. The American authorities will respect the exercise of those rights, and will consider those as duly elected, who are held as such by the Mexican government. And in like manner will be considered those civil appointments made by the Mexican general or state government.

ARTICLE VI.—Whenever an election is to be held in any town or place occupied by the American troops, upon due notice thereof being given to the commanding officer, he shall march the whole of his force out of the limits of such town or place, and there remain with them until after the hour at which such elections should be concluded, leaving within the town or place only the force necessary for the security of his barracks, hospitals, stores and quarters.

And no person belonging to the American army shall by any means, or on any consideration, attempt to obstruct or interfere with any elections; in order that they may be conducted according to the Mexican law. In Vera Cruz the troops shall retire within the walls of the fortifications, and there remain until the elections are concluded.

ARTICLE VII.—The Mexican authorities, whether general, state, or municipal, shall have full liberty to establish and collect, in the places occupied by the American troops, all taxes and revenues in conformity with the laws of the country, to appoint all officers and agents necessary for the purpose, to dispose of such revenues as they may think fit, without any intervention on the part of the American troops; excepting from this stipulation, all duties collected in the custom houses, all internal duties on transit, and those collected on the precious metals in the places occupied.

But if the Mexican government desire to reëstablish the tobacco monopoly, it shall give public notice of its intention sixty days, to be counted from the date of this convention, in order that the holders of that article may have time to dispose of it. Nor shall any tax be laid upon any one belonging to the American army, nor on its necessary supplies.

ARTICLE VIII.—In all places of the Mexican Republic, the revenue and administrations of the post office shall be reëstablished as they previously existed. All post houses, post-offices, public stages, horses, mules, and other means of transportation, shall receive the protection of the forces of both parties, and the whole shall be managed and conducted by the persons appointed in conformity with the law, by the Mexican government.

ARTICLE IX.—Should there be any stock or deposit of tobacco, stamped paper, or playing cards or other articles of commerce belonging to the Mexican government, or to that of any of the States, in any place occupied by the American troops, and of which they have not taken possession; such articles may be freely taken possession of by the Mexican government, and transported in such manner, and to such places, as may suit its convenience.

ARTICLE X.—Immediately after the publication of this convention, all public offices not in the occupation of the American troops, and all archives, utensils, and furniture of such offices shall be delivered up to the officers of the general or State governments; and as soon as other convenient places can be provided for the troops and officers now occupying them, all convents of nuns, colleges for education, public hospitals, and other buildings for charitable purposes, shall be immediately vacated and delivered up.

ARTICLE XI.—In all places occupied by the American troops, the federal and state courts of justice, and civil tribunals of every grade, may enter freely and without any interruption, upon the exercise of their appropriate functions in conformity with the Mexican law. Nor will the American military tribunals, created by their authority, take cognizance of, or interfere in any cause or matter, unless a person belonging to the American army be originally a party, or the interest of the American government or army be concerned; in which cases the jurisdiction shall remain in them; and the Mexican tribunals recognized and to be respected by the American army, shall be those

designated as legal by the proper authority of the Mexican general or state governments respectively.

ARTICLE XII.—In the federal district there may be organized and armed, a force of six hundred men of police or national guard, to preserve order and maintain police, and in other places occupied by the American forces, the commanders thereof, and the Mexican civil authorities shall agree on the establishment of a convenient force for similar purposes.

ARTICLE XIII.—In future, as heretofore, in all the places occupied, Mexicans, or foreigners resident in Mexico, shall enjoy the protection of person and property guaranteed by the constitution and laws of the Republic; and as has heretofore been done, all supplies taken for the American army shall be paid for at fair prices.

ARTICLE XIV.—The commanding officers of the American forces on the northern frontier of Mexico shall use all their influence to prevent the incursions of savages into the Mexican territory, and the robbery and ill-treatment of the inhabitants. And the Mexican forces may assemble, oppose, and pursue said Indians, even within the lines occupied by the American troops, without being considered as infringing the provisions of this convention.

ARTICLE XV.—The American army will continue to respect as hitherto, the temples and free exercise of the religion of the people of the Mexican Republic, in public and private; and church property shall be subject only to such laws as were in existence, or may be passed by the Mexican government.

ARTICLE XVI.—If any body of armed men be assembled in any part of the Mexican Republic, with a view of committing hostilities, not authorised by either government, it shall be the duty of either or both of the contracting parties to oppose and disperse such body, without considering those who compose it as having forfeited the protection of the laws of nations, unless they have been guilty of robbery or murder. The performance of this duty shall not be considered an infraction of this convention.

ARTICLE XVII.—This convention shall remain in force during the period fixed by the treaty signed on the 2d instant, at Guadalupe Hidalgo; or, until one party shall give to the other notice of its termination with the following additional delay, viz.: Five days for all places within sixty leagues of the capital, seven days for all places within ninety leagues, and twenty days for all other places. The ratification of this convention shall be exchanged at Mexico, within seven days from its signature.

In faith of which this convention has been signed in quadruplicate by the commissioners, the day, month, and year first mentioned.

IGNACIO DE MORA Y VILLAMIL,
BENITO QUIJANO,
W. J. WORTH, Bvt. Maj. Gen.
PERSIFOR F. SMITH, Bvt. Brig. Gen.

This is a true copy of the original, which was approved of in the city of Queretaro by the general-in-chief of the army, by order of his excellency the president, which was communicated to us with the note of his excellency the minister of war, under date of March 4, which follows:

“On this day I transmit to the general-in-chief of the army of operations at Queretaro, the following copy:

“His excellency, the president *pro tem.*, in a council with the ministers, has examined the armistice, agreed between the Mexican Generals Don Ignacio de Mora y Vilamil and Don Benito Quijano, and the generals of the American army, Worth and Smith, and you are hereby authorised, as general-in-chief of the army of operations, to give your signature to the said document accompanying those two originals, signed by the aforesaid generals.

“After having ratified these documents, you will forward them to this office.”

In consequence of this order, the general-in-chief has sanctioned the armistice, the copy of which I return, with the two copies that you transmitted me, with your note of the 2d of the present month, to be ratified by the general-in-chief of the North American army. Be pleased to send it to this office so that it be published in due form of law.

IGNACIO DE MORA Y VILLAMIL,
BENITO QUIJANO.

Ratified by me, in the city of Mexico, the 5th of March, 1848.

W. O. BUTLER,
Major General U. S. A. Commanding.

TREATY

Of Peace, Friendship, Limits, and Settlement, between the United States of America and the Mexican Republic, concluded at Guadalupe Hidalgo, on the second day of February, and ratified with the amendments, by the American Senate, March tenth, one thousand eight hundred and forty-eight.

In the name of Almighty God :

The United States of America and the United Mexican States, animated by a sincere desire to put an end to the calamities of the war which unhappily exists between the two republics, and to establish, on a solid basis, relations of peace and friendship, which shall confer reciprocal benefits on the citizens of both, and assure the concord, harmony, and mutual confidence wherein the two people should live as good neighbors, have, for that purpose appointed their respective plenipotentiaries; that is to say, the President of the United States has appointed N. P. Trist, a citizen of the United States, and the President of the Mexican Republic has appointed Don Luis Gonzaga Cuevas, Don Bernardo Couto, and Don Miguel Atristain, citizens of the said Republic, who, after a reciprocal communication of their respective powers, have, under the protection of Almighty God, the author of peace, arranged, agreed upon, and signed the following treaty of peace, friendship, limits, and settlement, between the United States of America, and the Mexican Republic.

ARTICLE I.—There shall be firm and universal peace between the United States of America and the Mexican Republic, and between their respective countries, territories, cities, towns, and people, without exception of places or persons.

ARTICLE II.—Immediately on the signature of this treaty, a convention shall be entered into between a commissioner or commissioners appointed by the general-in-chief of the forces of the United States, and such as may be appointed by the Mexican government, to the end that a provisional suspension of hostilities shall take place; and that in the places occupied by the said forces, constitutional order may be reestablished, as regards the political, administrative, and judicial branches, so far as this shall be permitted by the circumstances of military occupation.

ARTICLE III.—Immediately upon the ratification of the present treaty by the government of the United States, orders shall be transmitted to the commanders of their land and naval forces, requiring the latter (provided this treaty shall then have been ratified by the government of the Mexican Republic) immediately to desist from blockading any Mexican ports; and requiring the former (under the same condition), to commence at the earliest moment practicable, withdrawing all the troops of the United States then in the interior of the Mexican Republic, to points that shall be selected by common agreement, at a distance from the seaports not exceeding thirty leagues; and such evacuation of the interior of the republic shall be completed with the least possible delay; the Mexican government hereby binding itself to afford every facility in its power for rendering the same convenient to the troops, on their march, and in their new positions, and for promoting a good understanding between them and the inhabitants. In like manner, orders shall be dispatched to the persons in charge of the custom houses at all ports occupied by the forces of the United States, requiring them (under the same condition) immediately to deliver possession of the same to the persons authorised by the Mexican government to receive it, together with all bonds and evidences of debt for duties on importations and on exportations, not yet fallen due. Moreover, a faithful and exact account shall be made out, showing the entire amount of all duties on imports, and on exports, collected at such custom houses, or elsewhere in Mexico, by authority of the United States, from and after the day of the ratification of this treaty by the government of the Mexican Republic; and also an account of the cost of collection, and such entire amount, deducting only the cost of collection, shall be delivered to the Mexican government, at the city of Mexico, within three months after the exchange of ratifications.

The evacuation of the capital of the Mexican Republic by the troops of the United States, in virtue of the above stipulation, shall be completed in one month after th

orders there stipulated for shall have been received by the commander of said troops, or sooner if possible.

ARTICLE IV.—Immediately after the exchange of ratifications of the present treaty, all castles, forts, territories, places, and possessions, which have been taken and occupied by the forces of the United States during the present war, within the limits of the Mexican Republic, as about to be established by the following article, shall be definitely restored to the said Republic, together with all the artillery, arms, apparatus of war, munitions, and other public property, which were in the said castles and forts when captured, and which shall remain there at the time when this treaty shall be duly ratified by the government of the Mexican Republic. To this end, immediately upon the signature of this treaty, orders shall be dispatched to the American officer commanding such castles and forts, securing against the removal or destruction of any such artillery, arms, apparatus of war, munitions, or other public property. The city of Mexico, within the inner line of intrenchments surrounding the said city, is comprehended in the above stipulations, as regards the restoration of artillery, apparatus of war, &c.

The final evacuation of the territory of the Mexican Republic by the forces of the United States, shall be completed in three months from the said exchange of ratifications, or sooner if possible; the Mexican Republic hereby engaging, as in the foregoing article, to use all means in its power for facilitating such evacuation, and rendering it convenient to the troops, and for promoting a good understanding between them and the inhabitants.

If, however, the ratification of this treaty by both parties should not take place in time to allow the embarkation of the troops of the United States to be completed before the commencement of the sickly season, at the Mexican ports on the Gulf of Mexico, in such case a friendly arrangement shall be entered into between the general-in-chief of the said troops and the Mexican government, whereby healthy and otherwise suitable places, at a distance from the ports not exceeding thirty leagues, shall be designated for the residence of such troops as may not yet have embarked, until the return of the healthy season. And the space of time here referred to as comprehending the sickly season, shall be understood to extend from the first day of May to the first day of November.

All prisoners of war taken on either side, on land or on sea, shall be restored as soon as practicable after the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty. It is also agreed, that if any Mexicans should now be held as captives by any savage tribe within the limits of the United States, as about to be established by the following article, the government of the said United States will exact the release of such captives, and cause them to be restored to their country.

ARTICLE V.—The boundary line between the two republics shall commence in the Gulf of Mexico, three leagues from land, opposite the mouth of the Rio Grande, otherwise called Rio Bravo Del Norte, or opposite the mouth of its deepest branch, if it should have more than one branch emptying directly into the sea: from thence up the middle of that river, following the deepest channel, where it has more than one, to the point where it strikes the southern boundary of New Mexico, thence westwardly along the whole southern boundary of New Mexico (which runs north of the town called Paso), to its western termination, thence northward along the western line of New Mexico, until it intersects the first branch of the river Gila (or if it should not intersect any branch of that river, then to the point on the said line nearest to such branch, and thence in a direct line to the same); thence down the middle of the said branch and of the said river, until it empties into the Rio Colorado; thence across the Rio Colorado, following the division line between Upper and Lower California, to the Pacific Ocean.

The southern and western limits of New Mexico mentioned in this article, are those laid down in the map, entitled "Map of the United Mexican States, as organised and defined by various acts of the Congress of said Republic, and constructed according to the best authorities. Revised edition. Published at New York, in 1847, by J. Disturnell." Of which map a copy is added to this treaty, bearing the signatures and seals of the undersigned plenipotentiaries. And in order to preclude all difficulty in tracing upon the ground the limit separating Upper from Lower California, it is agreed that the said limit shall consist of a straight line, drawn from the middle of the Rio Gila, where it unites with the Colorado, to a point on the coast of the Pacific Ocean—distant one marine league due south of the southernmost point of the port

of San Diego, according to the plan of said port, made in the year 1782, by Don Juan Pantoja, second sailing master of the Spanish fleet, and published at Madrid, in the year 1802, in the atlas to the voyage of the schooners *Sutil* and *Mexicana*, of which plan a copy is herewith added, signed and sealed by the respective plenipotentiaries.

In order to designate the boundary line with due precision, upon authoritative maps, and to establish on the ground landmarks which shall show the limits of both republics, as described in the present article, the two governments shall each appoint a commissioner and a surveyor, who, before the expiration of one year from the date of the exchange of ratification of this treaty, shall meet at the port of San Diego, and proceed to run and mark the said boundary in its whole course to the mouth of the Rio Bravo del Norte. They shall keep journals, and make out plans of their operations; and the result agreed upon by them shall be deemed a part of this treaty, and shall have the same force as if it were inserted therein. The two governments will amicably agree regarding what may be necessary to these persons, and also as to their respective escorts, should such be necessary.

The boundary line established by this article shall be religiously respected by each of the two republics, and no change shall ever be made therein, except by the express and free consent of both nations, lawfully given by the general government of each, in conformity with its own constitution.

ARTICLE VI.—The vessels and citizens of the United States shall, in all time have a free and uninterrupted passage by the Gulf of California, and by the river Colorado, below its confluence with the Gila, to and from their possessions situated north of the boundary line defined in the preceding article; it being understood, that this passage is to be by navigating the Gulf of California and the river Colorado; and not by land, without the express consent of the Mexican government.

If, by the examination that may be made, it should be ascertained to be practicable and advantageous to construct a road, canal, or railway, which should, in whole or in part, run upon the river Gila, or upon its right or its left bank, within the space of one marine league from either margin of the river, the governments of both republics will form an agreement regarding its construction, in order that it may serve equally for the use and advantage of both countries.

ARTICLE VII.—The river Gila, and the part of the Del Norte lying below the southern boundary of New Mexico, being, agreeably to the fifth article, divided in the middle between the two republics, the navigation of the Gila and of the Bravo, below said boundary, shall be free and common to the vessels and citizens of both countries; and neither shall, without the consent of the other, construct any work that may impede or interrupt, in whole or in part, the exercise of this right—not even for the purpose of favoring new methods of navigation. Nor shall any tax or contribution, under any denomination or title, be levied upon vessels, or persons navigating the same, or upon merchandise, or effects transported thereon, except in the case of landing upon one of their shores. If, for the purpose of making said rivers navigable, or for maintaining them in such state, it should be necessary or advantageous to establish any tax or contribution, this shall not be done without the consent of both governments.

The stipulations contained in the present article shall not impair the territorial rights of either republic, within its established limits.

ARTICLE VIII.—Mexicans now established in territories previously belonging to Mexico, and which remain, for the future, within the limits of the United States, as defined by the present treaty, shall be free to continue where they now reside, or to remove, at any time, to the Mexican Republic, retaining the property which they possess in the said territories, or disposing thereof, and removing the proceeds wherever they please, without their being subjected, on this account, to any contribution, or tax, or charge whatever.

Those who shall prefer to remain in said territory, may either retain the title and rights of Mexican citizens, or acquire those of citizens of the United States. But they shall be under the obligation to make their selection within one year from the date of the exchange of ratifications of this treaty; and those who shall remain in the said territories after the expiration of that year, without having declared their intention to retain the character of Mexican citizens, shall be considered to have elected to become citizens of the United States.

In the said territories, property of every kind, now belonging to Mexicans not established there, shall be inviolably respected. The present owners, the heirs of these, and all Mexicans who may hereafter acquire property by contract, shall enjoy, with respect to it, guarantees equally ample, as if the same belonged to citizens of the United States.

ARTICLE IX.—The Mexicans, who, in the territories aforesaid, shall not preserve the character of citizens of the Mexican Republic, conformably with what is stipulated in the preceding article, shall be incorporated into the Union of the United States, and admitted as soon as possible, according to the principles of the federal constitution, to the enjoyment of all the rights of citizens of the United States. In the meantime, they shall be maintained and protected in the enjoyment of their liberty, their property, and the civil rights now vested in them, according to the Mexican laws. With respect to political rights, their condition shall be on an equality with that of the inhabitants of the other territories of the United States, and at least equally good as that of the inhabitants of Louisiana and the Floridas, when those provinces, by transfer from the French Republic, and the crown of Spain, became territories of the United States.

The most ample guaranty shall be enjoyed by all ecclesiastics and religious corporations, or communities, as well in the discharge of the offices of their ministry, as in the enjoyment of their property of every kind, whether individual or corporate. This guaranty shall embrace all temples, houses, and edifices dedicated to the Roman Catholic worship; as well as all property destined to its support, or to that of schools, hospitals, or other foundations for charitable or beneficial purposes. No property of this nature shall be considered as having become the property of the American government, or as subject to be by it disposed of, or diverted to other uses.

Finally, the relations and communication between Catholics, living in the territories aforesaid, and their respective ecclesiastical authorities, shall be open, free, and exempt from all hindrance whatever, even although such authorities should not reside within the limits of the Mexican Republic, as defined by this treaty; and this freedom shall continue so long as a new demarkation of ecclesiastical districts shall not have been made conformably with the laws of the Roman Catholic church.

[This article is expunged, and in its stead, the Senate has adopted and inserted substantially, the third article of the treaty with France of 1803, for the cession of Louisiana, to the effect that inhabitants of the ceded territory shall be incorporated in the Union of the United States, and admitted as soon as congress shall determine, according to the principles of the federal constitution, to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages, and immunities of citizens of the United States; and in the meantime, they shall be maintained and protected in the full enjoyment of their liberty, property, and the religion which they profess.]

ARTICLE X.—(Expunged.)—All grants of land made by the Mexican government, or by the competent authorities, in territories previously appertaining to Mexico, and remaining for the future within the limits of the United States, shall be respected as valid to the same extent that the same grants would be valid if the said territories had remained within the limits of Mexico. But the grantees of land in Texas, put in possession thereof, who, by reason of the circumstances of the country since the beginning of the troubles between Texas and the Mexican government, may have been prevented from fulfilling all the conditions of their grants, shall be under the obligation to fulfill the said conditions within the periods limited in the same respectively, such periods to be now counted from the date of the exchange of ratifications of this treaty; in default of which, said grants shall not be obligatory on the State of Texas, in virtue of the stipulations contained in this article.

The foregoing stipulation in regard to grantees of land in Texas, is extended to all grantees of land in the territories aforesaid, elsewhere than in Texas, put in possession under such grants; and in default of the fulfillment of the conditions of any such grant within the new period, which, as is above stipulated, begins with the day of the exchange of ratifications of this treaty, the same shall be null and void.

The Mexican government declares that no grant whatever of lands, in Texas, has been made since the second day of March, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-six, and that no grant whatever of lands in any of the territories aforesaid, has been made since the thirteenth day of May, one thousand eight hundred and forty-six.

ARTICLE XI.—Considering that a great part of the territories which, by the present treaty are to be comprehended for the future, within the limits of the United States, is now occupied by savage tribes who will hereafter be under the control of the government of the United States, and whose incursions within the territory of Mexico would be prejudicial in the extreme, it is solemnly agreed, that all such incursions shall be forcibly restrained by the government of the United States, whensoever this may be necessary; and that when they cannot be prevented, they shall be punished by the said government, and satisfaction for the same shall be exacted—all in the same way, and with equal diligence and energy, as if the same incursions were committed within its own territory, against its own citizens.

It shall not be lawful, under any pretext whatever, for any inhabitant of the United States to purchase or acquire any Mexican, or any foreigner residing in Mexico, who may have been captured by Indians inhabiting the territory of either of the two republics; nor to purchase or acquire horses, mules, cattle, or property of any kind, stolen within Mexican territory by such Indians; nor to provide such Indians with firearms or ammunition, by sale or otherwise.

And in the event of any person or persons captured within Mexican territory by Indians, being carried into the territory of the United States, the government of the latter engages and binds itself, in the most solemn manner, so soon as it shall know of such captives being within its territory, and shall be able so to do, through the faithful exercise of its influence and power, to rescue them, and return them to their country, or deliver them to the agent or representative of the Mexican government. The Mexican authorities will, as far as practicable, give to the government of the United States notice of such captures, and its agent shall pay the expenses incurred in the maintenance and transmission of the rescued captives; who, in the meantime, shall be treated with the utmost hospitality by the American authorities, at the place where they may be. But, if the government of the United States, before receiving such notice from Mexico, should obtain intelligence through any other channel, of the existence of Mexican captives within its territory, it will proceed forthwith to effect their release and delivery to the Mexican agent, as above stipulated.

For the purpose of giving to these stipulations the fullest possible efficacy, thereby affording the security and redress demanded by their true spirit and intent, the government of the United States will now and hereafter pass, without unnecessary delay, and always vigilantly enforce, such laws as the nature of the subject may require. And finally, the sacredness of this obligation shall never be lost sight of by the said government, when providing for the removal of Indians from any portion of said territories, or for its being settled by citizens of the United States; but, on the contrary, special care shall be taken not to place its Indian occupants under the necessity of seeking new homes, by committing those invasions which the United States have solemnly obliged themselves to restrain.

ARTICLE XII.—In consideration of the extension acquired by the boundaries of the United States, as defined in the fifth article of the present treaty, the government of the United States engages to pay to that of the Mexican Republic the sum of fifteen millions of dollars, in the one or the other of the two modes below specified.

The Mexican government shall, at the time of ratifying this treaty, declare which of these two modes of payment it prefers; and the mode so elected by it, shall be conformed to by that of the United States.

First mode of payment.—Immediately after this treaty shall have been duly ratified by the government of the Mexican republic, the sum of three millions of dollars shall be paid to the said government by that of the United States, at the city of Mexico, in the gold or silver coin of Mexico. For the remaining twelve millions of dollars, the United States shall create a stock, bearing an interest at the rate of six per centum per annum, commencing on the day of the ratification of this treaty by the government of the Mexican republic, and payable annually at the city of Washington; the principal of said stock to be redeemable there, at the pleasure of the government of the United States at any time after two years from the exchange of ratifications of this treaty; six months' public notice of the intention to redeem the same being previously given. Certificates of such stock in proper form, for such sums as shall be specified by the Mexican government, shall be delivered, and transferrable by the said government to the same by that of the United States.

Second mode of payment.—Immediately after this treaty shall have been duly ratified by the government of the Mexican republic, the sum of three millions of dollars shall be paid to the said government by that of the United States, at the city of Mexico, in the gold or silver coin of Mexico. The remaining twelve millions of dollars shall be paid at the same place, and in the same coin, in annual instalments of three millions of dollars each, together with interest on the same, at the rate of six per cent. per annum. This interest shall begin to run upon the whole sum of twelve millions from the day of the ratification of the present treaty by the Mexican government, and the first of the instalments shall be paid at the expiration of one year from the same day. Together with each annual instalment, as it falls due, the whole interest accruing on such instalment from the beginning shall also be paid.

[Certificates, in the proper form, for the said instalments, respectively, in such sums as shall be desired by the Mexican government, and transferable by it, shall be delivered to the said government by that of the United States.]

(N. B.—The first of these modes is rejected. The latter is adopted, with the exception of the last paragraph, within the brackets.)

ARTICLE XIII.—The United States engage, moreover, to assume and pay to the claimants all the amounts now due them, and those hereafter to become due, by reason of the claims already liquidated and decided against the Mexican republic, under the conventions between the two republics, severally concluded on the eleventh day of April, eighteen hundred and thirty-nine, and on the thirtieth day of January, eighteen hundred and forty-three; so that the Mexican republic shall be absolutely exempt for the future, from all expense whatever on account of the said claims.

ARTICLE XIV.—The United States do furthermore discharge the Mexican republic from all claims of citizens of the United States, not heretofore decided against the Mexican government, which may have arisen previously to the date of the signature of this treaty; which discharge shall be final and perpetual, whether the said claims be rejected or allowed by the board of commissioners provided for in the following article, and whatever shall be the total amount of those allowed.

ARTICLE XV.—The United States exonerating Mexico from all demand on account of the claims of the citizens mentioned in the preceding article, and considering them entirely and forever canceled, whatever their amount may be, undertake to make satisfaction for the same, to an amount not to exceed three and one quarter millions of dollars. To ascertain the validity and amount of those claims, a board of commissioners shall be established by the government of the United States, whose awards shall be final and conclusive; provided, that in deciding upon the validity of each claim, the board shall be guided and governed by the principles and rules of decision prescribed by the first and fifth articles of the unratified convention, concluded at the city of Mexico, on the twentieth day of November, one thousand eight hundred and forty-three; and in no case shall an award be made in favor of any claim not embraced by these principles and rules.

If, in the opinion of the said board of commissioners, or of the claimants, any books, records, or documents in the possession or power of the government of the Mexican republic, shall be deemed necessary to the just decision of any claim, the commissioner, or the claimants through them, shall, within such period as Congress may designate, make an application in writing for the same, addressed to the Mexican Minister for Foreign Affairs, to be transmitted by the Secretary of State of the United States; and the Mexican government engages, at the earliest possible moment after the receipt of such demand, to cause any of the books, records, or documents, so specified, which shall be in their possession or power (or authenticated copies or extracts of the same) to be transmitted to the said Secretary of State, who shall immediately deliver them over to the said board of commissioners: Provided, that no such application shall be made by, or at the instance of any claimant, until the facts which it is expected to prove by such books, records, or documents, shall have been stated under oath or affirmation.

ARTICLE XVI.—Each of the contracting parties reserves to itself the entire right to fortify whatever point within its territory it may judge proper so to fortify for its security.

ARTICLE XVII.—The treaty of amity commerce, and navigation, concluded at the city of Mexico, on the 5th day of April, A. D. 1831, between the United States of

America and the United Mexican States, except the additional article, and except so far as the stipulations of the said treaty may not be incompatible with any stipulation contained in the present treaty, is hereby revived for the period of eight years from the day of the exchange of ratifications of this treaty, with the same force and virtue as if incorporated therein; it being understood, that each of the contracting parties reserves to itself the right, at any time after the said period of eight years shall have expired, to terminate the same by giving one year's notice of such intention to the other party.

ARTICLE XVIII.—All supplies whatever, for the troops of the United States in Mexico, arriving at the ports in the occupation of such troops, previous to the final evacuation thereof, although subsequently to the restoration of the custom houses at such ports, shall be entirely exempt from duties and charges of any kind; the government of the United States hereby pledging its faith to establish, and vigilantly to enforce all possible guards for securing the revenue of Mexico, by preventing the importation, under cover of this stipulation, of any articles other than such, both in kind and in quality, as shall really be wanted for the use and consumption of the forces of the United States during the time they may remain in Mexico. To this end, it shall be the duty of all officers and agents of the United States to denounce to the Mexican authorities at the respective ports, any attempts at a fraudulent abuse of this stipulation which they may know of, or may have reason to suspect, and to give to such authorities all the aid in their power with regard thereto; and every such attempt, when duly proved and established by the sentence of a competent tribunal, shall be punished by the confiscation of the property so attempted to be fraudulently introduced.

ARTICLE XIX.—With respect to all merchandise, effects, and property whatsoever, imported into ports of Mexico, whilst in the occupation of the forces of the United States, whether by citizens of either Republic, or by citizens or subjects of any neutral nation, the following rules shall be observed:

1. All such merchandise, effects, and property, if imported previously to the restoration of the custom houses to the Mexican authorities, as stipulated for in the third article of this treaty, shall be exempt from confiscation, although the importation of the same be prohibited by the Mexican tariff.

2. The same perfect exemption shall be enjoyed by all such merchandise, effects, and property, imported subsequently to the restoration of the custom houses and previously to the sixty days fixed in the following article for the coming into force of the Mexican tariff, at such ports respectively; the said merchandise, effects, and property being, however, at the time of their importation, subject to the payment of duties, as provided for in the said following article.

3. All merchandise, effects, and property, described in the two rules foregoing, shall, during their continuance at the place of importation, or upon their leaving such place for the interior, be exempt from all duty, tax or impost, of every kind, under whatsoever title or denomination. Nor shall they be there subjected to any charge whatsoever upon the sale thereof.

4. All merchandise, effects and property described in the first and second rules, which shall have been removed to any place in the interior, whilst such place was in the occupation of the forces of the United States, shall, during their continuance therein, be exempt from all tax upon the sale or consumption thereof, and from every kind of import or contribution, under whatever title or denomination.

5. But, if any merchandise, effects, or property, described in the first and second rules, shall be removed to any place not occupied at the time by the forces of the United States, they shall, upon their introduction into such place, or upon their sale or consumption there, be subject to the same duties which, under the Mexican laws, they would be required to pay in such cases, if they had been imported in the time of peace, through the maritime custom houses, and had there paid the duties conformably with the Mexican tariff.

6. The owners of all merchandise, effects, or property described in the first and second rules, and existing in any port of Mexico, shall have the right to reship the same, exempt from all tax, impost, or contribution whatever.

With respect to the metals, or other property exported from any Mexican port whilst in the occupation of the forces of the United States, and previously to the restoration of the custom house at such port, no person shall be required by the Mexican authorities, whether general or state, to pay any tax, duty, or contribution

upon any such exportation, or in any manner to account for the same to the said authorities.

ARTICLE XX.—Through considerations for the interests of commerce generally, it is agreed, that if less than sixty days should elapse between the date of the signature of this treaty and the restoration of the custom houses, conformably with the stipulation in the third article, in such case, all merchandise, effects, and property whatsoever, arriving at the Mexican ports after the restoration of the said custom houses, and previously to the expiration of the sixty days after the day of the signature of this treaty, shall be admitted to entry; and no other duties shall be levied thereon, than the duties established by the tariff found in force at such custom houses, at the time of the restoration of the same. And to all such merchandise, effects, and property, the rules established by the preceding article shall apply.

ARTICLE XXI.—If, unhappily, any disagreement should hereafter arise between the governments of the two republics, whether with respect to the interpretation of any stipulation in this treaty, or with respect to any other particular concerning the political or commercial relations of the two nations, the said governments, in the name of those nations, do promise to each other that they will endeavor, in the most sincere and earnest manner, to settle the differences so arising, and to preserve the state of peace and friendship in which the two countries are now placing themselves; using, for this end, mutual representations and pacific negotiations. And if, by these means, they should not be enabled to come to an agreement, a resort shall not, on this account, be had to reprisals, aggression, or hostility of any kind, by the one republic against the other, until the government of that which deems itself aggrieved, shall have maturely considered, in the spirit of peace and good neighborhood, whether it would not be better that such difference should be settled by the arbitration of commissioners appointed on each side, or by that of a friendly nation. And should such course be proposed by either party, it shall be acceded to by the other, unless deemed by it altogether incompatible with the nature of the difference, or the circumstances of the case.

ARTICLE XXII.—If (which is not to be expected, and which God forbid!) war shall unhappily break out between the two republics, they now, with a view to such calamity, solemnly pledge themselves to each other and to the world, to observe the following rules, absolutely, where the nature of the subject permits, and as closely as possible in all cases where such absolute observance shall be impossible.

1. The merchants of either republic then residing within the other shall be allowed to remain twelve months (for those dwelling in the interior), and six months (for those dwelling at the seaports) to collect their debts and settle their affairs; during which periods, they shall enjoy the same protection, and be on the same footing, in all respects, as the citizens or subjects of the most friendly nations: and at the expiration thereof, or at any time before, they shall have full liberty to depart, carrying off all their effects, without molestation or hindrance; conforming therein to the same laws which the citizens or subjects of the most friendly nations are required to conform to. Upon the entrance of the armies of either nation into the territories of the other, women and children, ecclesiastics, scholars of every faculty, cultivators of the earth, merchants, artisans, manufacturers, and fishermen, unarmed and inhabiting unfortified towns, villages, or places, and in general, all persons whose occupations are for the common subsistence and benefit of mankind, shall be allowed to continue their respective employments unmolested in their persons. Nor shall their houses or goods be burnt, or otherwise destroyed, nor their cattle taken, nor their fields wasted, by the armed force into whose power, by the events of war, they may happen to fall; but, if the necessity arise to take any thing from them for the use of such armed force, the same shall be paid for at an equitable price. All churches, hospitals, schools, colleges, libraries, and other establishments for charitable and beneficent purposes, shall be respected, and all persons connected with the same, protected in the discharge of their duties, and the pursuit of their vocations.

2. In order that the fate of prisoners of war may be alleviated, all such practices as those of sending them into distant, inclement, or unwholesome districts, or crowding them into close and noxious places, shall be studiously avoided. They shall not be confined in dungeons, prison-ships, or prisons; nor be put in irons, or bound, or otherwise restrained in the use of their limbs. The officers shall enjoy liberty on their paroles, within convenient districts, and have comfortable quarters; and the common

soldiers shall be disposed in cantonments, open and extensive enough for air and exercise, and lodged in barracks as roomy and good as are provided by the party in whose power they are, for its own troops. But, if any officer shall break his parole by leaving the district so assigned him, or any other prisoner shall escape from the limits of his cantonment after they shall have been designated to him, such individual officer, or other prisoner, shall forfeit so much of the benefit of this article, as provides for his liberty on parole or in cantonment. And if an officer so breaking his parole, or any common soldier so escaping from the limits assigned him, shall afterwards be found in arms, previously to his being regularly exchanged, the person so offending shall be dealt with according to the established laws of war. The officers shall be daily furnished by the party in whose power they are, with as many rations, and of the same articles, as are allowed, either in kind or by computation, to officers of equal rank in its own army; and all others shall be daily furnished with such ration as is allowed to a common soldier in its own service; the value of all which supplies shall, at the close of the war, or at periods to be agreed upon between the respective commanders, be paid by the other party, on a mutual adjustment of accounts for the subsistence of prisoners; and such accounts shall not be mingled with, or set off against any others, nor the balance due on them be withheld, as a compensation or reprisal for any cause whatever, real or pretended. Each party shall be allowed to keep a commissary of prisoners, appointed by itself, with every cantonment of prisoners in possession of the other; which commissary shall see the prisoners as often as he pleases; shall be allowed to receive, exempt from all duties or taxes, and to distribute, whatever comforts may be sent to them by their friends; and shall be free to transmit his reports in open letters to the party by whom he is employed.

And it is declared, that neither the pretence that war dissolves all treaties, nor any other whatever, shall be considered as annulling or suspending the solemn covenant contained in this article. On the contrary, the state of war is precisely that for which it is provided; and during which, its stipulations are to be as sacredly observed as the most acknowledged obligations under the law of nature or nations.

ARTICLE XXIII.—This treaty shall be ratified by the President of the United States of America, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof; and by the President of the Mexican Republic, with the previous approbation of its General Congress; and the ratifications shall be exchanged in the city of Washington, in four months from the date of the signature hereof, or sooner if practicable.

In faith whereof, we, the respective plenipotentiaries, have signed this treaty of peace, friendship, limits and settlement; and have hereunto affixed our seals respectively. Done in quintuplicate, at the city of Guadalupe Hidalgo, on the second day of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-eight.

N. P. TRIST,	[L. S.]
LUIS G. CUEVAS,	[L. S.]
BERNARDO CONTO,	[L. S.]
MIG. ATRISTAIN,	[L. S.]

Additional, and secret article of the treaty of peace, friendship, limits, and settlement, between the United States of America and the Mexican Republic, signed this day by their respective plenipotentiaries. (Expunged.)

In view of the possibility that the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty may, by the circumstances in which the Mexican Republic is placed, be delayed longer than the term of four months fixed by its twenty-third article for the exchange of ratifications of the same, it is hereby agreed that such delay shall not, in any manner, affect the force and validity of this treaty, unless it should exceed the term of eight months, counted from the date of the signature thereof.

This article to have the same force and virtue as if inserted in the treaty, to which this is an addition.

In faith whereof, we, the respective plenipotentiaries, have signed this additional and secret article, and have hereunto affixed our seals respectively. Done in quintuplicate, at the city of Guadalupe Hidalgo, on the second day of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-eight.

N. P. TRIST,	[L. S.]
LUIS G. CUEVAS,	[L. S.]
BERNARDO CONTO,	[L. S.]
MIG. ATRISTAIN,	[L. S.]

Immediately after the treaty had been negotiated, and a copy thereof dispatched to the United States for ratification, Senor Rosa issued a circular to the governors of the different states announcing the fact; but the provisions of the treaty itself were withheld, from prudential motives of Peña y Peña, who was not willing to give to the Puros and Monarquistas the opportunity of condemning it, before it could be acted upon by the government of the United States.

The governors of the states returned evasive answers to the circular of the minister; most of them neither condemning nor approving, but many of them demanding to have the terms of the treaty made known. But the governors of Zacatecas and Guadalajara positively refused to comply with the terms of any armistice, stating that they would raise troops to defend themselves. Jalisco, too, was endeavoring to raise a force, and the authorities there had some pieces of artillery in the process of manufacture.

General Santa Anna, as has been before related, on the last day of March presented himself to Colonel Hughes, the American commander at Jalapa, who, advancing to meet him with a squadron of cavalry, treated him with much consideration. He left his hacienda of Encerro, near Jalapa, on the 2d of April, and proceeded to Antigua, near Vera Cruz, and there embarked, with his family, on board a Spanish brig, which on the 5th sailed with the illustrious exile to the island of Jamaica, where he found a quiet and secure asylum.

At the same time the opponent of Santa Anna, Paredes, equally obnoxious to the existing government, having left his retreat at Tulancingo with such precipitation on the approach of Gen. Lane, proceeded, not to the coast, but to San Luis Potosi, in hopes of being able to raise there a revolution against the power of Peña y Peña, and in favor of his monarchical principles. His appearance in the state of San Luis created a great commotion. The governor, Adame, and the lieutenant-governor, Avila, favored his schemes, and a revolution was to be set on foot; but was quelled by the approach of a force under Gen. Bustamente, ordered by the president to march forthwith, to prevent their designs. Paredes then retired to Aguas Calientes.

Padre Jarauta, at this time, having been also proscribed by the government, which was anxious for the cessation of all guerrilla operations, betook himself, with a few followers, to the less dangerous occupation of robbing the Mexicans themselves, near Queretaro.

Col. Zenobia alone, with a force of guerrillas, near Vera Cruz, continued to attack the Americans; and even he seemed to wish no more assistance—sending back, to the American commander at Vera Cruz, a lieutenant and six men, who had deserted to him from that post.

Gen. Alvarez continued his attempts to get up a pronunciamento in the south, but without any success, the populace being weary of the war. Gen. Almonte retired to his hacienda in the north of Mexico. Most of the officers unfavorable to the government took up their abode at Guanajuato; and those disposed for peace, at Queretaro, around the president, where also were a part of the congress assembled.

In the mean time, one more battle was fought, in the north of Mexico, at Santa Cruz de Rosales, near Chihuahua, between the forces of the American general, Price (who was ignorant of the treaty), and Gen. Angel Trias, governor of that state, who was aware of the existence of the treaty, and also of the armistice. The Americans in New Mexico, under General Price, had, previous to this time, occupied a succession of posts from the capital, Santa Fe, along down the Rio Grande, to El Paso. The latter, the most southern, three hundred miles from Chihuahua, was commanded by Lt. Col. Ralls. About the first of February, that officer, having captured a Mexican lieutenant, from some papers found upon his person was led to believe that he would be attacked from Chihuahua by Generals Urrea and Angel Trias, with an overwhelming force. This induced him at once to send for reinforcements to Santa Fe. General Price immediately marched to his relief, and assumed the command at El Paso, with sixteen hundred men, and ten pieces of artillery. Finding that Urrea was not at Chihuahua, and that Gen. Trias had possession of that city, Price made a rapid march with four hundred dragoons and mounted men, and two pieces of artillery, towards Chihuahua, with the remainder of his army to follow immediately. Hearing of his approach, Gen. Trias, on the morning of the 7th of March, evacuated the city with his troops, numbering one thousand men, and eight pieces of artillery, and took the road towards Durango. The Americans entered Chihuahua on the night of the 7th, and, leaving their two pieces of artillery, on the 8th continued in pursuit of Trias, and, by marching at night, overtook him at Santa Cruz de Rosales—a town of two thousand inhabitants, sixty miles distant. On the morning of the 9th, the Americans filed to the northwest of the town, and halted. Gen. Trias, astonished at his being overtaken, fired a few cannon shot upon the Americans, who withdrawing from the range, took positions immediately to storm the town. Trias received, by a flag of truce, a demand for unconditional surrender. He refused this, but requested of the American general an interview within the town, which being granted, he informed Price of the negotiated treaty, and of the terms of the armistice, and demanded that he should be allowed to proceed on his retreat unmolested. General Price, discrediting

this, but believing, however, that such might be the case, demanded of General Angel Trias, that he should march his whole force, or two companies of it, with his artillery and munitions of war, back to Chihuahua, and take quarters in one portion of the city, while the American troops quartered in another—not to molest each other until the American commander should receive directions from his government. Trias, considering that in such a case himself and command would be but prisoners in Chihuahua, refused, and Price withdrew from the conference, determined upon the attack; but having seen the strong arrangements for defense, he suspended his operations until the arrival of his artillery, and stationed his troops so as to cut off the communications from the town. In the afternoon, Gen. Trias sent two flags of truce to the Americans: the first, asking whether he was besieged. On receiving answer that all communications were stopped, he sent the second, stating that he considered himself besieged, and that hostilities would be commenced; but repeated his assurances of the existing armistice to the American general.

On the 11th, General Price received the two pieces of artillery from Chihuahua; and on the morning of the 16th, his battery of seven pieces, which by rapid marching had come at his call two hundred and twenty-five miles in three and a half days. This reinforcement increased the number of the Americans to seven hundred men. The battle then commenced at half past 9, A. M., by a rapid and destructive cannonade from the American artillery, returned with spirit by Trias. This continued for two hours and a half; was recommenced at half past 3, P. M., by the artillery, and the whole American force, in separate columns, assaulted the different parts of the town. For near six hours the conflict raged furiously, until at 9 P. M., the Americans, having penetrated through the walls of the buildings and gained entrance to the plaza, Gen. Trias, after a loss of three hundred men killed and wounded, surrendered. American loss very small.

The prisoners and trophies were marched back to Chihuahua by the American general, who took up his quarters within that city, and held it until he received orders from the government to evacuate it, which was not done until the 20th of July, when he commenced his return to Santa Fe.

While the senate of the United States were deliberating upon the treaty, President Peña y Peña and his cabinet were making every exertion to secure its ratification by the Mexican congress, should it be approved by the former power. For this purpose, he declared his intention, if it was necessary to procure a quorum, to exclude from representation New Mexico, California, and Yucatan—the

two former being in the full possession of the Americans, and the latter not having acted in conjunction with her sister states of Mexico during the war, and even now being overrun with an extensive insurrection of her native Indians, or peones, who, in number about forty thousand, under their chiefs Jacinto Pat and Cocilho Chi, ravaged the whole country, sparing neither age nor sex of the unfortunate whites, devastating the whole interior with fire and sword. The fugitive families were flying to the coast, and availing themselves of every opportunity to escape with their lives. The governor, Don Miguel Barbachano, in the extremity of his distress, sent to the Spanish authorities at Havanna, to the English at Jamaica, to those of the United States at Washington, and to the commander of the American squadron on the Mexican coast, for assistance; offering the full possession and dominion of their country to any of those powers who would save them. They were assisted by Commodore Perry with ammunition, by the authorities at Havanna with the like, by the English at Honduras with two hundred men, and from Jamaica with arms; and after this time, by American volunteers discharged from the army. The details of this vast insurrection, and long continued indiscriminate massacre, would not repay the perusal; suffice it to say, that it commenced in July, 1847, and was at its worst in April, 1848: when the sufferings of the people were beyond description. Since that the whites have succeeded in making a stand against, and in obtaining advantages over their savage foes. In this condition, Yucatan could send no members to the national congress; and Peña y Peña, therefore, was determined, in case of necessity, to reduce the quota of congress by her number of deputies.

Nor in Yucatan alone was this insurrection of the peones. From Tampico to Tusan, the whole country was unsettled. Two thousand insurgents of the same character had risen in the state of Guanajuato. The northern savage Indians were also making inroads into San Luis, Durango, and Sonora.

The treaty of peace was confirmed, with amendments, by the senate of the United States, after a protracted discussion, on the 10th of March, 1848, and two commissioners, Messrs. Sevier and Clifford, were immediately sent to bear it to Mexico for ratification by the Mexican congress; while Mr. Trist was called home, as a prisoner. Mr. Clifford arrived at the city of Mexico on the 11th of April; Mr. Sevier in a day or two after. Remaining in the capital a few days, on the 22d they were escorted by a squadron of American cavalry towards Queretaro.

No sooner was the action of the U. S. senate known by the

Mexican government, than Peña y Peña made most vigorous exertions to obtain a meeting of congress. Money was obtained from the clergy who for some time had been becoming more favorable towards the treaty; the members of congress were furnished with the necessary funds, and more than a quorum were immediately assembled. The president, in an able message, laid before the body the condition of the nation, and the advantages that would accrue from a peace; while Rosa, as secretary of state, showed that it was impossible for the nation any longer to carry on the war, their armies being destroyed, their resources gone, and the enemy every where victorious.

In the chamber of deputies the treaty met with fierce opposition; but finally, on the 19th of May, it was ratified in that house, as amended in the American senate, by a vote of 51 to 35. On the 25th, with but little opposition, it passed the Mexican senate, by a full vote of 33 to 4; and in half an hour afterwards, the escort of the American commissioners entered the city.

The ratifications were exchanged, and the war was ended. The last force of American troops, which, under Gen. Kearney, had just entered the capital from Vera Cruz, had arrived only immediately to return. No delay was made by Gen. Butler in evacuating the city. Gen. Smith was sent immediately to Vera Cruz to superintend the embarkation of the army, which in four divisions left the capital. The siege train, and all the artillery, commenced the march on the 29th of May; Gen. Patterson's division on the 1st of June, followed by that of Gen. Marshall, and that of Gen. Worth brought up the rear. As they marched out, the Mexican troops, which had been stationed at Guadalupe, entered. The volunteers of Gen. Wool's army in the north, left soon after; part of the regular forces proceeded to California, and part to New Mexico. Chihuahua was evacuated by Gen. Price on the 20th July.

The Mexican congress declared Gen. Herrera the constitutional president, and Peña y Peña was reëlected chief justice of the supreme court. Gen. Paredes and Padre Jarauta immediately commenced a revolution, by issuing a pronunciamiento against Herrera, at Aguas Calientes. The first movement of the new government was to send Gen. Bustamente, at the head of the army, against them. The result of this was, that, afterward, Paredes was routed, and Jarauta taken prisoner and shot.

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